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J.B. Santerre, pinx.

Philippe.

DUKE OF ORLEANS.

[REGENT OF FRANCE.]

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MEMOIRS

OF THE

HOUSE OF ORLEANS;

INCLUDING

SKETCHES AND ANECDOTES OF THE
MOST DISTINGUISHED CHARACTERS IN FRANCE DURING THE
SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES.

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BY

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"ROMANTIC BIOGRAPHY OF THE AGE OF ELIZABETH;" "STUDENT'S MANUALS
OF ANCIENT AND MODERN HISTORY," ETC.

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HISTORY

OF

THE HOUSE OF ORLEANS.

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WITS AND POLITICIANS AT SCEAUX.—LA GRANGE CHANCEL AND VOLTAIRE. — NICHOLAS DE MALAZIEU. — CONSPIRACY AGAINST THE REGENT. — ITS RESULT.—INSURRECTION OF BRITTANY.—PROCEEDINGS OF THE LEADERS. —PONTCALEC, MONTLOUIS, TALHOUET AND COUËDIC.—A BRETON BALLAD. —EXECUTION OF THE INSURGENTS.—INVASION OF FRANCE BY PHILIP V. —THE DUKE OF BERWICK.—EMPLOYMENT OF THE PRINCE DE CONTI.— OPERATIONS OF THE FRENCH ARMY.—ALBERONI.—HIS DISGRACE.—PROPOSALS OF PHILIP V. FOR PEACE.—THE LAST VESTIGES OF THE SYSTEM OF LOUIS XIV.

During the entire struggle between the Princes of the Blood and the legitimated princes, the Duc de Maine had shewn a marked deficiency in energy and promptitude; his little duchess, however, had exhibited a superabundance of both qualities. On the first appearance of the appeals against her husband she hastened to Paris, remained in inconvenient lodgings, and engaged some of the most eminent jurists to prepare, under her direction, a memorial to the Parliament, in which the right of Louis XIV. to bestow precedence and privilege was maintained with singular

eloquence and learning. The decrees registered in the bed of justice came upon her by surprise; she had expected that the Parliament would remonstrate, that the Duc de Maine would have made an effort to defend his prerogative, and that the Count de Toulouse would not have separated his cause from that of his brother.* Disappointed in all these expectations, her rage knew no bounds; she spurned her husband, scorned his brother, and uttered the most furious invectives against the Regent.† Paris was odious to her; she removed with her husband to her beautiful

* "Madame the Duchess de Maine contributed much to this work herself, not only by what she drew from her own intelligence, but still more from her laborious researches. The greater part of her nights were devoted to them. Immense volumes were heaped on her bed like mountains, by which she was overwhelmed, making her, she said, 'If proportions were taken into account, resemble Enceladus under Mount Etna.' I assisted at this work, and likewise searched the ancient chronicles and the works of ancient and modern jurists, until excess of fatigue disposed the princess to take some repose. I had then to read to her until she fell asleep, after which I had to seek slumbers I did not always find."—*Mémoires de Madame de Stael.*

† "The little dwarf (the Duchess de Maine) says, that she has more courage than her husband, her son, and her brother-in-law; and that like another Jael, she would murder my son with her own hand by driving a nail into his forehead. When I exhort him to be on his guard, he laughs and nods his head, as if I had told him some story . . . . She said aloud that her husband and brother-in-law were cowards; and that though she was only a woman, she was capable of demanding an audience from the Regent and plunging a dagger in his heart."—*Mémoires de Madame la Duchesse, &c.*

residence at Sceaux,* where she gathered around her a circle of wits and authors, ready to support her cause and gratify her resentment.† Among the satires which appeared against the Regent, the most ferocious by far were the Philippics of La Grange Chancel, who had been for some time in the service of Madame, the dowager Duchess of Orleans, but had afterwards joined the party of the Duchess de Maine. It is probable that he had received some personal affront or injury from the Regent, for his first Philippic is too passionate an invective to have been dictated by mere party spirit. In this bitter specimen of rhyming vengeance, he collected every calumny, every scandal, and every accusation that had ever been vented against the Duke of Orleans, and the result was some thirty stanzas of horrors and abominations. St. Simon took the piece to the Regent immediately on its publication, and read it to him. Philip heard the invective without emotion, until the duke came to the stanza which accused him of meditating the murder of Louis XV. At this atrocious charge the Regent burst into a passion of tears, and complained bitterly of the malice of his enemies. Having alluded to the removal of the Duc

* "The Duc de Maine has not been banished to the country; he was allowed to go with his family whither he pleased; but he does not like to remain at Paris, where he no longer enjoys his former rank. He loves better to inhabit Sceaux, where he has a mansion richly furnished and a beautiful park."—*Mémoires de Madame la Duchesse, &c.*

† "The goddess of the place has been insulted," said Arouet (Voltaire), "all Parnassus must be roused to redress her wrongs."

de Maine, the poet proceeds to the following effect :—

" And thou, royal infant, unfortunate King,
This blow has predestin'd the day of thy doom,
The demon of death has wav'd o'er thee his wing,
And quits not his prey 'till it sleep in the tomb ;
Thy childhood is safe while he reigns in thy name,
But when time shall incite thee to manly endeavour,
Thine eyes shall detect not his crime and his shame,
He is practis'd in arts that will close them for ever."

La Grange Chancel was vindictively prosecuted ; he fled to Avignon, which, being then part of the Papal territory, was deemed an inviolable asylum ; but he was induced to cross the French frontier by a treacherous artifice of the police, and was sent to one of the dungeons in the Chateau d'If, where he amused his leisure by writing satires against the governor.

Voltaire assailed the Regent as implacably, but far more adroitly. His tragedy of Œdipus was the most cruel revenge he could take on the Regent for his imprisonment in the Bastille. It was a kind of allegory of the Court with its deplorable morals, its mysterious tales, and the horrible crimes imputed to the Regent. It needed not to point the allusions ; every spectator comprehended that the traditional honours of Thebes shadowed forth the orgies of the Luxembourg, but Voltaire had the wisdom to seem unaware of these applications ; he even induced the Regent and the Duchess de Berri to attend several representations of the piece. The Regent with great wisdom seemed so unconscious of being aimed at that he gave the poet a pension, and

the Duchess de Berri shewed a marked anxiety to court his friendship. This policy, however, did not prevent the phrases, "Regent Œdipus" and "Jocasta de Berri" from being current in every circle throughout Paris.*

Among the visitors at Sceaux we have already mentioned the President de Mesmes; with him came the Cardinal de Polignac, author of an unreadable Latin poem called the Anti-Lucretius, but more honourably known for his devotion to the diplomacy and system of Louis XIV. Laval and Pompadour represented in this little Court the hostility of the provincial nobility to the ducal peers and their extravagant claims. Poets, philosophers, and historians assembled at Sceaux, and over this enlightened circle presided Nicholas de Malazieu, equally remarkable for his brilliant powers of conversation and his deep erudition. He had been appointed by Louis XIV. tutor to the Duc de Maine; the duchess immediately on her marriage placed herself under his tuition, and studied the noble productions of the Greek dramatists, scenes from whose works were often declaimed by the lively princess and her preceptor. All the amusements at Sceaux were of an intellectual character; if sometimes they had the fault of pedantic affectation and ill-regulated fancy, they were sullied by none of the vices which disgraced the orgies of the Regent.

A vigorous pamphlet in favour of the Regent, called

* "A Latin epigraph ascribed to Voltaire concentrates in it more bitter calumny against the Regent than the Philippics of La Grange Chancel.

"Fitzmaurice's Letters," appeared simultaneously in London and Paris. Several answers were concocted at Sceaux, and one in particular, written by the Abbé Birgaut,* was deemed so important that the question of its authorship was treated as an affair of State. But public opinion had not so matured in France as to be sensitive to the influence of pamphlets. The Duchess de Maine organised a conspiracy which she hoped to disturb and overthrow the whole political system which the Quadruple Alliance had established in Europe. For this purpose it was necessary to secure the support of Spain, and she secretly opened a system of communication with the Spanish ambassador, the Prince de Cellamare.

There was something of romance in this political intrigue which gratified the exalted imagination of the Duchess de Maine. Servants could not be trusted; Dubois had his spies and emissaries every where; interviews were therefore arranged at masked balls; at country seats near Paris; and when the duchess visited Cellamare, the Count de Laval or the Marquis de Pompadour acted as her coachman. It was proposed to convoke the States-General, to declare the treaty of the Quadruple Alliance invalid, to depose the Regent, and to bring him to trial on the countless charges which had been accumulated against him. To attain these objects

* So says Madame de Staël, but there is reason to believe that it was written partly from the dictation of the Duchess de Maine. Cotemporaries ascribe it to Malazieu or the Cardinal de Polignac.

the President de Mesmes was to secure the Parliament; Cardinal de Polignac answered for the Church, then agitated by new disputes on the bull *Unigenitus;* the Count de Laval declared himself assured of the provincial nobility and gentry,—but he spoke more in accordance with his wishes than his knowledge,—and the Marquis de Pompadour undertook to secure the support of the Huguenots.

The first step proposed was that the King of Spain should write both to Louis XV. and the Parliament of Paris, demanding the convocation of the States-General. Drafts of these letters were prepared by M. Malazieu and the Cardinal de Polignac; but the rough copy with its erasures and interlineations was unaccountably mislaid, and all efforts to recover this dangerous document were unavailing. Mademoiselle Delaunay, who was high in the confidence of the Duchess de Maine, was alarmed at the want of prudence and caution shewn by the members of the conspiracy, but the duchess laughed to scorn all apprehensions from the Regent, and seemed to think that the only thing to be dreaded was an excess of timidity and caution on the part of the Duc de Maine.

When all the papers connected with the conspiracy were ready, the Abbé Portocarrero, a young man about twenty-six years of age, was chosen to convey them to Spain, whither he was about to return. A post-chaise was prepared with a double flooring, and in this the documents were deposited. Two explanations are given of the mode in which Dubois became acquainted with

the conspiracy. The common report was, that the secretary of the Spanish embassy had an assignation with a pretty woman, to whom he excused himself for not keeping his appointment, by saying that he had been delayed, having to prepare important dispatches for Portocarrero. The girl related the circumstance to one of her companions who occasionally received visits from the Regent, and she told him of the matter, apparently ignorant of the importance of the communication. Another story is, that the person employed to copy the dispatches at the Spanish embassy was actually a spy in the pay of Dubois, to whom he revealed their contents. There is no inconsistency between the two stories: the substance of the documents might have been learned from one party and the name of the bearer from another.

Portocarrero was accompanied on his journey by the Marquis de Monteleone and the Chevalier de Mira; the latter was deeply in debt, and under the pretence that he was escaping with valuable property from his creditors, orders were given for his arrest. The travellers were stopped at Poictiers; they claimed their privilege as servants of an Ambassador, but were told that they must be detained until inquiries were made. Portocarrero sent off a courier with an account of his detention, who reached Paris some hours before the messenger dispatched to the Regent, the latter also arrived at a time when the Regent enjoying one of his orgies, would not listen to any subject connected with affairs of State. Cellamare had therefore sixteen hours

to destroy the papers which compromised so many individuals; but he neglected this obvious precaution, probably because he believed that the blow was really aimed at the fugitive De Mira. He however gave notice of the event to the Abbé Bregaut.

On the morning of the 9th of December, 1718, the hotel of the Spanish Ambassador was occupied by a strong detachment of troops; the Prince of Cellamare was taken into custody, and all his papers seized by the police. He immediately addressed a circular to the other ambassadors, complaining bitterly of so flagrant a violation of diplomatic privileges and the law of nations; but none of the other ambassadors joined in the protest.

The news of this event spread rapidly through Paris, and soon reached the little Court at Sceaux, where it surprised all who were not in the secret, but seriously alarmed those who were conscious of the conspiracy.* The documents found with Portocarrero consisted of

* "In the afternoon of the same day the Chevalier de Gavaudun, one of the gentlemen of the household of the Duc de Maine, came into my room, M. de Valincourt was with me. 'Here are great news,' he said; 'the hotel of the Spanish embassy is invested; the whole quarter is filled with troops, and no one knows what is the matter.' I was seized with terror, but I exerted myself to shew nothing but surprise in the presence of M. de Valincourt, who knew nothing of our affairs. Gavaudun was in the secret; he left us, having only come to tell me what had happened. M. de Valincourt remained a long time with me discussing this event, at which he was much astonished. I wonder how he escaped noticing my confusion, which I was scarce able to conceal. I had to sustain a second visit from the Abbé de Chan-

two drafts of a manifesto, one prepared by the Marquis de Pompadour, and the other by the Abbé Bregaut; some insignificant observations and criticisms of Bregaut on both projects; a memoir by the Count de Laval on the means of raising insurrections in the provinces when the Spanish army should arrive; an extract from a treatise of Pierre Dupuy on majorities and Regencies; a catalogue of the French officers who sought employment in the Spanish service; a private letter from Cellamare to Alberoni, strongly recommending to him the Chevalier Saint Geniez and the Count d'Aydie; and finally, a formal dispatch containing an inventory of these papers. The search at the Spanish embassy added nothing of importance to these documents. There was found no trace of a solemn engagement to revolt, said to have been signed by several hundred conspirators.

The Marquis of Pampadour and the Chevalier Saint

lieu, who kept me in the same constraint. The arrest of the ambassador, and conjectures as to the cause formed the entire subject of conversation. Madame the Duchess de Maine, on her side, had not less trouble to keep a good countenance amid the crowd that surrounded her. Every one who arrived told the news, adding circumstances, but speaking of nothing else! She did not venture to withdraw from this most inopportune assembly, fearing her anxiety might be discovered. She summoned me for a minute to her wardrobe, and asked me if I had heard anything particular. I told her I knew nothing but the public report, by which I was much alarmed. She was equally so, though she could not conjecture to what it all tended. She sent me to make some inquiries, but I could not procure a particle of accurate information."—*Mémoires de Madame de Stael.*

Geniez were sent to the Bastille, and directions were forwarded along the roads for the arrest of the Abbé Bregaut. He was seized before he could escape from the kingdom; and as he proffered every possible information to save his life, the Regent was soon acquainted with all the ramifications of the conspiracy. Arrests became numerous; three hundred nobles, gentlemen, officers, and men of letters, were seized and sent either to the Bastille or Vincennes; the Duc de Maine was confined in the Castle of Dourlens, and his duchess in the Castle of Dijon, under the charge of her great enemy, the Duc de Bourbon. Mademoiselle Delaunay was sent to the Bastille and interrogated with great severity; but she refused to betray the confidence reposed in her. At a later period the Duc de Richelieu was arrested; he had plotted on his own account, promising to open the gates of Bayonne to the Spaniards; and the Regent said publicly, that if Richelieu had four heads there were charges that would justify the loss of them.

But this conspiracy, after all, had been too vague and indefinite to be formidable; a few weeks in confinement cured most of its members of their propensity to dabble in plots. The Duchess de Maine set the example of submission to the Regent; and to obtain a pardon, furnished him with full details of all the proceedings from the commencement, exonerating herself and her husband at the expense of the rest. Her captivity was gradually relaxed; and early in 1720 she was permitted to return to Sceaux. The Duc de Maine,

who attributed all his misfortunes to her intrigues and indiscretions, refused to live with her; she sent supplicatory letters to him, but in vain; and at length actually went to the Regent to beg that he would effect a reconciliation between herself and her husband. The Regent replied by an apt compliment to her personal charms, at which she was so delighted that she sprang from the sofa on which she was sitting, kissed him on both cheeks, and overwhelmed him with caresses.* All the others submitted to the same humiliations as the duchess: they made penitent confessions, petitioned

* "Two days after (the arrest of the Marquis de Pompadour) Madame the Duchess de Maine playing at *Biribi* as usual, M. de Chatillon, who kept the bank, said, 'Truly there are pleasant news; they have arrested and sent to the Bastille about this Spanish affair, a certain Abbé Bri— Bri—' he could not remember the name, and those who knew it had no wish to aid him. At last he caught it, and added: 'What makes it so pleasant is, that he has told everything, and has compromised a vast number of people.' And he then burst into a loud laugh for the first time in his life. Madame the Duchess, who had no desire to join him, said, 'Yes, it is very pleasant; it is enough to make one die of laughter.' He resumed. 'Figure to yourself people who believed their affairs secret, while this fellow tells more than he is asked, and compromises everybody by name.' This last phrase threw our princess into the most cruel disquiet, and quite unexpectedly, for Laval had sent word that the abbé had escaped, and that measures had been so well taken as to leave nothing to fear. She sustained Chatillon's painful conversation to the end, without shewing any sign of the emotions by which she was agitated. She told me of it at night and displayed her fears, which I could not dissipate, being well assured of the sad fate that awaited her. Every day there was somebody arrested, and we were only waiting for our turn."—*Mémoires de Madame de Stael.*

† Mémoires de Madame la Duchesse d'Orleans.

for pardon, and signed the most grovelling professions of future submission. The Regent has got the credit for magnanimity in not bringing them to trial; but he had rendered them powerless by exhibiting them to the world as perfectly contemptible; and no more efficacious revenge could have been taken. The only result of the conspiracy was that it afforded France a plausible pretext for declaring war against Spain.

The movement in favour of constitutional freedom, and the convocation of the States-General, had easily been crushed in Paris; the legitimated princes had shewn an utter want of political courage or sagacity; the lively little duchess had acted with the capriciousness of a spoiled child; the Duc de Richelieu had shewn more prowess in gallantry than in policy: half the ladies of the Court joined in supplicating the Regent for his pardon; the other nobles thought of nothing but securing their personal safety; and the whole affair had very much the appearance of a comedy with a bad plot and worse actors. Far different was the case with the provincial nobles and gentry; they had taken the cause seriously to heart, and were resolved to carry it out with spirit.

The connection between Brittany and France had some striking points of similitude to that between England and Ireland. The Bretons, like the Irish, are a Celtic race, and, though nominally united to France, they had preserved a nationality of language, customs, and institutions, such as existed in Ireland before the wars of Elizabeth. Even at the present day, there are

many districts in Brittany where the French language is as little understood as the English was in many parts of Ireland before the erection of the National Schools. The term "Frank" was used in Brittany as that of "Saxon" is in Ireland, to express hatred to an alien race that had entered on the inheritance which belonged exclusively to the Celts; and countless Breton ballads celebrate the cruelties perpetrated by the ruling Franks and the desperate vengeance wreaked by the oppressed Bretons. There were, however, many marked differences between the political condition of Brittany and that of Ireland. Brittany had been an organized kingdom, which Ireland never was; its clan system had quietly changed into the feudal system without any of the convulsions which marked the establishment of feudality in the rest of Europe. The lords lived among their vassals, and were sometimes little elevated above them in fortune; for we find that no less than thirty thousand nobles had a right to vote in the States of Brittany. Unlike the rest of the French nobility, the Barons of Brittany preferred a rude and almost barbarous independence in their own castles to the splendid servility of the Court. Their dislike to the Franks and their monarchs was nurtured by numerous ballads, which described the treachery to which every noble Breton was exposed who ventured to seek his fortune at the Court of Paris.* All the

* So little is known of Breton literature, that we trust we shall do an acceptable service by giving some account of one of these legends, which is entitled, "A Page of Louis XI." The

nationality of the Bretons centred in the States of the Province; but the Parliament of Brittany, like that of Paris, had declared that the questions which the Regent had so summarily decided in a bed of justice could only be settled by the States-General, and they resolved to resist their execution by force.

Brittany was at this time governed by Pierre d'Artagnan de Montesquiou, Marshal of France, an old warrior, who had been in the army for nearly sixty years, and who carried to an extravagant excess his military habits of discipline and obedience. He placed garrisons in the principal towns, and issued an edict

ballad opens with a description of the young page's sufferings in the prison into which he had been thrown by the King. A vassal of his house comes to the grating, and the page sends him to inform his sister of his danger, and to beg that she would come to embrace him before his death.

The second "fytte" describes the speed with which the vassal performed his task, and the distress which his intelligence produced in the page's family. It ends with the sister's departure from Paris.

The third "fytte" we shall translate literally. "The King's young page said as he mounted the first step of the scaffold, 'Death would have no terror were it not far from my country, and without sympathizing attendance; were it not far from my country, were it not without friends, were it not for my sister in Brittany. She will ask for her brother every night; she will ask for her little brother every hour.' The young page said as he mounted the second step of the scaffold, 'I would wish before I die to have news of my country; to have news of my sister, of my dear little sister. Does she know it?' The young page said as he mounted the third step of the scaffold, 'I hear the tramp of horses in the street: my sister and her suite are coming! My sister is coming to see me! In the name of God wait a little!'

forbidding the nobles to form any union or association without the express permission of the King. He was obeyed in the towns where the merchants and traders, then rapidly making fortunes by the commerce of India and America, cared little for antiquated traditions and poetic dreams of visionary nationality. Secret associations were formed by the nobles and peasants throughout Brittany to maintain the independence of their States and the nationality of their Province: ladies joined in the movement, and the popular

The provost when he heard him, replied: 'Before she arrives your head will be severed from your body.' At this moment the dame De Bodinio asked of the Parisians: 'Why is there such a crowd of men and women?' 'Louis XI., Louis, the traitor, is going to behead a poor page.' As these words were spoken she beheld her brother. She perceived her brother kneeling with his head on the block. She urged her horse to full speed, and cried: 'My brother, my brother! spare him to me! Spare him, archers, and I will give you a hundred golden crowns!' As she reached the scaffold the severed head of her brother fell, and the blood spurted on her veil, so that it was crimsoned from top to bottom."

In the fourth "fytte" the lady seeks an audience of the King to demand why her brother was put to death. Louis after some shuffling, informs her that the page had killed one of his favourites. "Hand to hand and sword to sword, because he heard the old proverb; the old and true proverb: there are no men in Brittany but savage hogs." The lady then defies the King, and quits his presence vowing vengeance.

The fifth and last "fytte" shews how this vow was kept. The enraged Bretons invade Normandy, and slay ten thousand Franks to avenge the murdered page. There is probably some historical foundation for the ballad, as the Bretons did revolt and invade Normandy during the reign of Louis XI. in 1467.

ballads still celebrate the patriotism of the Baronesses of Kauköen and of Bounnamour.*

The plan of the nobility and peasants was to organize an armed federation to resist the encroachments of the government. Every one who claimed the rank of gentleman was enjoined to enrol himself in this League, under pain of losing his titles, his arms, and his Breton nationality: emissaries went from castle to castle to procure signatures to the federative act, and among the chosen chiefs of the insurrection we find the Lords of Bounamour, Pontcalec, Montlouis, Talhouet le Moine, Couëdic, and Rohan-Polduc. They resolved to proclaim the independence of Brittany, and to place it under the protection of Spain.† Envoys were sent to the Court of Madrid, and were favourably received by Alberoni. They made no attempt to conceal their objects; accordingly, it was not long before information of their intrigues was sent to the Regent.

Marshal de Montesquiou, at the first appearance of the revolt, applied to the Regent for military aid, and large bodies of troops were sent into Brittany, amongst whom were those terrible dragoons whose remorseless cruelty had been so memorably displayed in suppress-

* It was a lady, the Baroness d'Egelac, who betrayed the secret of the conspiracy to the Regent.

† Brittany had been the stronghold of the League, and had held out to the last against Henry IV. This had brought the Bretons into close connection with the Spaniards. Philip V. in a letter dated June, 1719, declares himself ready to become the protector of the Breton privileges and franchises.

ing the insurrection of the Camisards. In many respects the revolt in Brittany resembled the Irish Rebellion of 1798. There was the same want of unity and concert; the same senseless insurrections at isolated points, and the same treacherous betrayal of the leaders by their accomplices. After a few sharp skirmishes, rather than regular battles, the Bretons, with the inconstancy of the Celtic race, threw down their arms, made submission, and left their daring young leaders to the vengeance of the outraged law. They trusted, however, that these bold men might escape, as the regular law courts of Brittany would never convict them;* but this had been foreseen by the Regent and D'Argenson. In October, 1719, a Royal Commission was issued, constituting a special tribunal for the trial of the insurgents, quite independent of the provincial authorities. Most of the Breton leaders escaped to Spain, where they obtained small pensions from Philip V., and lived in great wretchedness.† Martial law was proclaimed in Brittany: whenever Montesquiou received information of an assembly of Bretons in the recesses of their forests,

* It is hardly necessary to point out to our readers the similarity between the conduct of the Bretons to their insurgent chiefs, and that of "Young Ireland" in the recent case of John Mitchell.

† Marshal de Tesse, who visited Madrid in 1724, writes: "I have seen some of those miserable Bretons crawling about here; in their present condition no apprehensions need be entertained of their raising a revolt in Brittany." Such of them as survived were subsequently pardoned by Louis XV.

he sent his unscrupulous dragoons to scour the country and fire the cottages of the unhappy peasantry. The bravest of the insurgents were some bands of smugglers, who fought with great desperation, and more than once inflicted severe checks on the regular troops; but an undisciplined peasantry could not long resist a regular army, and soon the streets of Rennes and Nantes were crowded with troops of unfortunate prisoners, destined to be butchered under perverted forms of law.

The judicial chamber at Nantes became the terror of Brittany; the memory of its severities has not been effaced by the lapse of more than a century. None of the victims of this illegal court excited such sympathy as Pontcalec, Montlouis, Talhouet and Couëdic,* who were tried and condemned together. They were all young men. Clement de Guer-Malestroit, Marquis de Pontcalec, had not attained his twenty-second year. Every form of law was violated at their trial; all their countrymen were excluded from the judicial bench; the president of the court was a Savoyard; and their condemnation was pronounced before their arraignment. They were executed by torch-light on the night of the 26th of March; no attempt was made at a rescue, as the victims are said to have expected; the burgesses were averse to their cause, the peasants too thoroughly panic-stricken to encounter troops again; and the

* Their history, very slightly disguised by fiction, forms the subject of one of Dumas's best romances, called *La fille du Regent.*

most braggart of their accomplices had already made terms of pardon with the government.* They met their fate with great firmness ;† their memory is still revered; they are regarded as saints and martyrs, and countless elegies were written bewailing their fate.

This tragedy forms the subject of a beautiful and characteristic Breton ballad, which, in spite of its length, we have translated literally. We give it a place in the text, as it helps to illustrate the hostility which the peasantry of Brittany have ever since manifested to the House of Orleans,—a hostility keenly felt both by Philip Egalité and Louis Philippe.

THE DEATH OF PONTCALEC.

A new song has been composed: it has been made on the Marquis de Pontcalec.

"Thou who hast betrayed him be accursed, be accursed! Be accursed thou who hast betrayed him.

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* The parallel instances in the history of Ireland will suggest themselves to the minds of most readers. We have been assured on what we consider good authority, that the unfortunate John Mitchell fully expected that some effort would have been made to rescue him by the Young Irelanders. They had every opportunity, if they had had the courage to make the attempt, for the garrison of Dublin was being reviewed in the park at the time of his removal from prison to the convict-ship.

† They only shewed emotion when the executioner cut off the tresses of long flowing hair of which the Bretons have always been proud, as characteristic of their nationality. It is said that the Breton exiles at Madrid offered up prayers publicly in the churches for the preservation of the nationality of Brittany.

On the young Marquis of Pontcalec so beautiful, so gallant, so full of heart;
He loved the Bretons, for he was born amongst them.
Thou who hast betrayed him be accursed, be accursed! Be accursed thou who hast betrayed him;
For he was born amongst them, and brought up amongst them—
He loved the Bretons, but not the citizens,
Who are always seeking to injure those who have neither lands nor goods.*
To those who have only the labour of their two arms† night and day to support their mothers,
He had formed a plan to relieve us of our burthens,‡
A great cause of spite to the citizens, who, therefore, sought an opportunity to have him beheaded.
—My lord marquis, conceal yourself quickly: this time they have tracked him.

II.

"He has disappeared for a long time: they sought him but found him not.
A mendicant from the city, who begged his bread, was the person that betrayed him.
A peasant would not have betrayed him, even if he had been offered five hundred crowns.
It was the festival of Lady-day in harvest, the precise time the dragoons§ were in the field.
'Tell me, dragoons, are you not in search of the marquis?'
'We are in search of the marquis. Do you know how he is dressed?'

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* This sentiment is common to Brittany and Ireland.

† The Irish say, "the labour of these four bones."

‡ The Breton, like the Irish peasant, looked to "a repeal of the union," not for the restoration of nationality, but for some amelioration of his physical condition.

§ The accounts which the Bretons had received of the cruelties practised by the dragoons in the Cevennes filled them with great fear of these troops.

'He is clothed in the fashion of the country—a blue surtout richly embroidered;
A blue waistcoat with white frill, leather gaiters, and cloth trousers;
A little straw hat stitched with red thread; long black hair flowing down his shoulders.
A leathern girdle, with two double-barrelled Spanish pistols.
His outer dress is of coarse stuff, but he wears embroidery inside.
If you will give me three hundred crowns I will help you to find him.'
'We will not give you three half-pence, but plenty of blows with our sabres,—a very different matter.
We will not give you three half-pence, but you shall help us to take Pontcalec.'
'Dear dragoons, in the name of God, do me not harm, and I will put you on his track.
He is below in the parlour of the glebe-house at table with the rector of Lignol.'

III.

"'My lord marquis, fly! fly! See, the dragoons are coming;
The dragoons with their glittering weapons and red coats.'
'I cannot believe that a dragoon would dare to lay hands on me.
I cannot believe that it is the fashion for dragoons to lay hands on marquises.'
He had not finished speaking when they filled the saloon,
And he at once seized his pistols. 'I fire on the first who approaches.'
Seeing this, the old rector threw himself at the marquis's knees;
'In the name of God our Saviour, do not fire, my dear lord,
In the name of our Saviour who has suffered so patiently.'
At this name of the Saviour, tears flowed in spite of him.
His head drooped, his teeth chattered, but raising himself he said: 'Let us go.'
As he traversed the parish of Lignol, the peasants said—
They, the inhabitants of Lignol, said, 'It is a shame to pinion the marquis.'
As he passed near Berné a crowd of children came:

'Good day, good day, lord marquis, we are going to the village to our catechism.'

'Adieu, my good little children, I shall never see you again.'*

'Where are you going, then, my lord, will you not soon return?"

'I cannot tell: God alone knows: dear little ones I am in danger.'

He wished to caress them, but his hands were fettered:

Hard would be the heart which remained unmoved; the dragoons themselves wept.

And nevertheless soldiers have hearts of stone in their bosoms.

When he arrived at Nantes he was judged and condemned,

Not by his peers, but by men who came from the backs of coaches.†

They asked Pontcalec: 'Lord marquis, what have you done?'

'My duty: do you do yours.'‡

IV.

"On the first Sunday of the Easter of this year, § a message came to Berné.

'Good luck to all the village, where is the rector of this parish?'

'He is gone to say high mass; he is about to begin his sermon.'

As he was going up into the pulpit, they placed a letter on his book.

He could not read it, his eyes were so full of tears.

'What news has come that our rector weeps so bitterly?'

'I weep, my children, for a cause that will make you weep also.

He is dead, ye poor, who fed you, who clothed you, who sustained you.

He is dead who dearly loved his country, who loved it to the death.

He is dead, ye inhabitants of Berné, who loved you as I love you,

Dead at the age of twenty-two years, as die martyrs and saints.

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* Countless anecdotes are still related by the Breton peasants, illustrating the marquis's love for children.

† Footmen; still a common phrase in Brittany, and applied to *parvenus*.

‡ Talmont gave the same answer to the revolutionary tribunal.

§ It is common to find the date of the Breton ballads thus fixed by some incidental allusion.

May God have mercy on his soul! our lord is dead! My voice fails.

Thou who hast betrayed him, be accursed, be accursed! Be accursed, thou who hast betrayed him!"

The letter alluded to in the ballad, which announced the death of those four gentlemen to the rector of Berné is still preserved by the family of Couëdic, and has been partly published by Villemarque in the last edition of his "Bards of Brittany." It was written by one of the clergymen who accompanied the condemned to the scaffold. Even at the moment of execution the joyous humour of the young marquis did not fail him for an instant. "After having confessed M. de Couëdic," says the clergyman, "I retired saluting him; wishing to return the salute he asked. 'Where is my hat?'—'Ha, what need have we of hats?' asked M. de Pontcalec; 'they will soon chop off what the hat fits on.' When he saw M. de Montlouis brought in, he said, 'There is a very honest man they are about to put to death.' And he ran to embrace him, saying, 'What injustice!' The only complaint he uttered was forced from him by his feelings of pride, when the executioner tied the hands of his companions, he exclaimed: 'What! tie the hands of gentlemen! condemn men to a malefactor's death who have never drawn a sword against the State. This is the conduct of that judicial chamber which they said was to be distinguished for its clemency. See the clemency they shew.

They said that M. de Montlouis would be pardoned, why, then, do they tie his hands?'"

When the executioner came to pinion the young marquis, he was so greatly moved by his youth and beauty, that he tried to stammer out some complimentary excuse. Pontcalec said to him, "I will go to the scaffold without having my hands tied." He then went to pinion M. de Couëdic, but finding him already bound, did not touch him. That gentleman then cried out for the first time, "This, then, is my recompense after twenty-eight years of service! I have exposed my head a thousand times for the King, and now he cuts it off on the scaffold!"

As the condemned marched to the place of execution, the courage and youth of Pontcalec made all the spectators shed tears; so that the priest said to him, "The crowd bewails your fate, but the crowd did not compassionate Jesus Christ."—"Oh, what a difference!" he exclaimed, and then frequently repeated *Pater, fiat voluntas tua.** The sight of the scaffold did not shake his firmness. In spite of the remonstrances of his confessor, who advised him to turn away his eyes, he steadily regarded the apparatus of death, and said, "What a spectacle, good father, what a spectacle!" He was to ascend the scaffold last. When the friends reached the foot of the scaffold, they took a tender farewell of each other, and mutually embraced, as well as pinioned persons could. Montlouis first received the stroke of death; before dying he knelt near the

* "Father, thy will be done."

block, and recited aloud a prayer to the Blessed Virgin. "The sound of his voice was firm, and the tone clear," says the attendant clergyman. "When the executioner came to summon M. de Talhouet," says the same authority, "he said to me with an air of equal frankness and tenderness, 'Let us go, good father,' and then turning to the spectators he said, 'Pray to God for the repose of my soul.' I saw several take off their hats, replying, as they fell on their knees, 'We will do so fervently and sincerely.' When I came down from the scaffold, I was told that my face and vestments were stained with blood."

When Pontcalec's turn was come, he said to his confessor, "I pardon, from the bottom of my heart, those who have caused my death," and he then added with a smile, "that is rather a sorrowful compliment." When he laid his head on the block, he several times repeated *Cor contritum et humiliatum Deus non despicies.** "I heard him also," continues the clergyman, "several times exclaim, *Jesus Maria:*" his last words were, "My God, into thy hands I commit my spirit."

The bodies, by the command of the Regent were buried without toll of bell or chanted psalm. They were conveyed to a neighbouring monastery, where the monks interred them with such maimed rites as the jealousy of power permitted; they recited in a low voice, the prayers and psalms which they

* "A contrite and humble heart, O God, thou wilt not despise."

were forbidden to sing, and voluntarily said masses for the repose of the departed souls.

This affecting tragedy, which has inspired both dramatists and novelists in France, struck terror into the hearts of the nobility, not only in Brittany, but in all the other provinces. The magistrates who had been refractory were expelled from the Parliament, though the French laws guaranteed the inviolability of the judicial office. The constitution of the States of Brittany was arbitrarily changed, the number of representatives being reduced to one hundred and fifty, who were allowed to assemble only once in two years; and taxes were levied by the royal authority.

Philip, V. was deeply mortified by the failure of the insurrection in Brittany, and by the detection of his intrigues with the provincial nobility. He consoled himself, however, with a hope that a grandson of Louis XIV. would have overwhelming influence with the French army; he knew that the Regent had incurred great popular odium by declaring war against Spain, and assembling forces to invade that country, and he relied for defence more on his supposed influence with the French soldiers than on the fidelity or valour of his own subjects. His best army was shut up in Sicily, where it defended itself with difficulty against the imperial forces, who were supported by an English fleet. Six thousand Spaniards had been placed under the command of the Duke of Ormond, to attempt an invasion in favour of the Pretender—an enterprise now rendered hopeless by the death of Charles XII.

Under these circumstances, it was with difficulty that Philip could collect together fifteen thousand men, with which he advanced towards Navarre.*

The French army was far more powerful; Villars had refused to take any command in a war which he disapproved, but his place was supplied by the Duke of Berwick. Every one was surprised to see the natural son of James II. acting against the Spaniards at a time when the great object of their policy was to place his legitimate brother on the throne of England. Berwick had fought for Philip V., in the war of the Succession; he had received several favours from the King; he had placed his second son in the Spanish service, where he had attained the rank of a Grandee of Spain, with the title of the Duke of Liria. But Berwick, exiled more than thirty years from his country, had adopted some of the principles of a mere

* "Philip determined to put himself at the head of these forces, deceived by the flattering representations of his agents, and trusting that at his approach the French soldiers would quit their ranks and hail as their chief the only surviving grandson of Louis XIV. He arrived at Pamplona, attended by the Queen, the Prince of Asturias, and the prime minister, and, in pursuance of his hopes, prepared an address to the soldiers of Berwick, and assigned the very regiments in which those who should come over were to be enrolled. Nay, so confident was he of the issue, that he had formed the design of advancing almost alone amongst the French troops, and claiming their allegiance as the rightful Regent. But Alberoni, afraid to endanger his Majesty's person in this romantic enterprise, opposed it by urgent remonstrances, and finding these received with less docility than usual, contrived to defeat it by a false order, and consequent delay of the Royal attendants."—Lord Mahon's *History of England*, vol. i.

mercenary, and was ready to fight in any quarrel at the will of his paymaster.* The Regent, who knew how unpopular the Spanish war was in France, was anxious to place at the head of the army, a general having sufficient reputation to gratify the soldiers. For the same reason, he was eager that a Prince of the Blood should take a share in a campaign against the head of the royal family. He applied to the Prince de Conti, then about twenty-four years of age, and only known by his dissolute habits and his intimate connections with the Prior of Vendome; he appointed him lieutenant-general, and gave him the chief command of the cavalry. Conti knew his own importance, and drove a hard bargain;† he received one hundred and fifty thousand livres, and a service of silver-plate;

* It is only justice to insert the explanation which Berwick has given of his conduct in his memoirs.—"The Marshal de Berwick was chosen to command the army in consequence of the singular confidence reposed in him by the Regent on all occasions; he was, however, more grieved by this war than any man in France. Besides the reasons common to all Frenchmen, he had private ones peculiar to himself: he had twice saved Spain: the benefits he had received from Philip V. attached him specially to that sovereign; but, on the other hand, he was bound by ties of gratitude to the Regent, who was attacked personally in this war. But all these considerations in the mind of Berwick ever yielded to a strong sense of duty: it was indispensable for him as governor of Guienne, and warden of the frontier, to execute the orders he received to attack Spain without going beyond these orders. A refusal to serve would have been a violation of his duty; it would have been dangerous, it might almost have been criminal if it found many imitators; he obeyed, then, because it was his duty to obey."—*Suite Abrégée des Mémoires de Berwick.*

† See Mémoires de St. Simon, vol. xxxii.

but not content with this, he insisted that all his travelling expenses should be charged to the treasury.

Before Berwick joined the army, M. de Silly, who held the temporary command, crossed the Bidassoa, and subdued the fort of Passages, in the harbour of which he found six ships of war on the stocks, which he burned, at the instigation of Colonel William Stanhope, who accompanied the army as a kind of commissioner on the part of England. A detachment soon after captured Santona, where three more ships of war were similarly destroyed. These events, the naval victory obtained by Byng, and a tempest which destroyed a Spanish squadron off Finisterre, completed the ruin of the navy of Spain, which Alberoni had made such exertions to restore, and this destruction was ascribed to the commercial jealousy of England.*

Berwick, on assuming the command, laid siege to Fontarabia, which surrendered after a siege of three weeks, and he had similar success at Saint Sebastian, the Spaniards being too weak to offer any resistance. It was his purpose to advance against Pamplona, but at the request of Stanhope, after having received the submission of the province of Guipiscoa, he crossed the Pyrenees, to invade Spain on the other side, and destroy the naval arsenals of Catalonia.

All Alberoni's plans had failed; the rebellion was

* "This was the chief object of the English in this war; they were always anxious to deprive Spain of her navy, in order that they might have exclusive possession of the wealth of the Indies." —*San Felipe Comment.* vol. ii.

quelled in Scotland; the Jacobites of England were too intimidated to move; the Hungarians refused to revolt against Austria; the unfortunate Bretons had paid dearly for their disaffection; the Spanish army in Sicily was on the brink of ruin, and there were no means of resisting the French invasion.* Philip V., who had been hurried into the war by mortified pride and a personal dislike of the Regent, fell into a profound melancholy, and from that moment formed the project of abdicating the crown, which he subsequently carried into effect. At the same time he became irritated against the minister, whose worst fault was that he had yielded to all the whims of his capricious master, and had performed prodigies to accomplish his insensate projects. Alberoni's loss of favour commenced when he opposed Philip's Quixotic project of presenting himself alone to the French armies. He had just taken advantage of a victory gained by the Spaniards in Sicily to make proposals of peace; but the two ministers of France and England, Dubois and Stanhope, had agreed never to consent to any peace until Alberoni should be banished from the councils of the King.† All the

* An English armament surprised Vigo and some of the neighbouring towns, where they obtained forty-three pieces of cannon, two thousand barrels of powder, and chests of arms containing about eight thousand muskets, being the stores collected for the Duke of Ormond's proposed invasion of England. This attack produced great consternation at the Court of Madrid.—*See* LORD MAHON, chap. x.

§ On the 22nd of August 1719, Stanhope wrote from Hanover to Dubois:—"We shall act wrong if we do not consolidate the

efforts of the powerful and all the intrigues of subordinate agents were directed against the cardinal. The Pope, believing that he had been duped by him, denounced him as an infidel; the haughty Spaniards detested him as a foreigner; Daubenton,* Philip's confessor, knowing that Alberoni was anxious to put an Italian priest in his place, employed all his influence to prejudice the mind of his penitent against the minister. The restless Lord Peterborough, entering into diplomacy as amateur, persuaded the Duke of Parma to declare against his powerful subject, and to write a letter to

peace by the removal of the minister who has kindled the war; and as he will never consent to peace until he finds his ruin inevitable, from the continuance of the war, we must make his disgrace an absolute condition of the peace. . . . Let us exact from Philip his dismissal from Spain. We cannot propose to his Majesty any condition which will be more advantageous to him and his people. Let us hold forth this example to Europe as a means of intimidating any turbulent minister, who breaks the most solemn treaties and attacks the persons of princes in the most scandalous manner. When Cardinal Alberoni is once driven from Spain, the Spaniards will never consent to his again coming into administration; even their Catholic Majesties will have suffered too much from his pernicious counsels to desire his return. In a word, any peace made by the cardinal will be only an armistice of uncertain duration; nor can we depend upon any treaty, till we make it with a minister whose system is directly opposite to that of Alberoni, as well in regard to France in particular as to Europe in general."—LORD MAHON, chap. x.

*. The Regent recommended his ambassador to embroil Daubenton with Alberoni; he equally detested and feared both, and was anxious to destroy one by means of the other.—*Mémoires de Noailles.*

the Queen of Spain recommending his dismissal. The Queen's nurse attempted to raise against him the suspicion of being a poisoner, having seen him one day touch the King's shirt while it was airing, she threw the garment into the fire. Finally, the old Spanish remedy for a King's misfortunes was the disgrace of a minister.

On the evening of the 4th of December, 1719, Alberoni transacted business with the King, and saw nothing which could lead him to suppose that he had fallen out of favour. But on the following morning, before he had completed his toilet, an edict was placed in his hands commanding him to leave Madrid in eight days and Spain within three weeks. All his efforts to obtain an audience failed; his letters remained unheeded, and he was forced to set out within the appointed time. He concealed himself in the mountainous parts of Italy until the death of Clement XI., when he regained favour at the Papal Court. He died at Rome in 1752, retaining his taste for political intrigues to the last hour of his life; and when no longer able to convulse Europe, condescended to be the great agitator in the mock Court of the Pretender and the little republic of San Marino.

Philip V. believed that the dismissal of Alberoni would free him from the responsibility of all the faults he had induced that minister to warrant. He announced his desire for peace; but his first proposals were as haughty as if he had gained some great victory. He demanded the restitution of Gibraltar and Port Mahon,

the possession of Sardinia, the reversion of Sicily, and the dismissal of the Abbé Dubois, as a compensation for the disgrace of Alberoni. But when he was informed that he must either continue the war or subscribe to the conditions of the Quadruple Alliance, his pride at once gave way and he submitted to the terms dictated.

Thus the Regent destroyed the last vestiges of the system of Louis XIV., setting up in its place another not less despotic, but better calculated to secure the peace of Europe. It must, however, be added that it was a system of gross corruption and demoralisation; the Courts both of London and Paris were disgraced by the grossest sensuality, which was not relieved by any of the refinements that sometimes impart elegance to dissipation. Law's Mississippi scheme in France and the South-Sea bubble in England, added to a vicious state of society all the incentives of wild and dangerous speculation. The system which the Regent destroyed involved all the horrors and ravages of war, but that erected in its stead was fraught with almost all the vices that belong to an epoch when peace is identified with luxurious indolence, and when the passions which seek gratification in the field by honourable achievement are directed to obtaining promotion at the Court by all the arts of meanness, treachery, and peculation.

CHAPTER II.

THE MISSISSIPPI SCHEME.—PRIVILEGES GRANTED TO LAW.—COLONIZATION OF THE SETTLEMENTS CEDED TO HIM. — MADNESS OF SPECULATION. — ANECDOTE RELATING TO IT.—PASQUINADES. — POPULARITY OF LAW. — THE COUNT DE HORN.—HIS CRIME AND PUNISHMENT.—STATE OF PUBLIC MORALS SUPERINDUCED BY THE SCHEMERS. — THE BUBBLE ABOUT TO BURST.—M. DE CHIRAC AND HIS PATIENT. — EXPEDIENTS RESORTED TO BY LAW: HIS INFLUENCE FAILING.—HE RETIRES FROM PARIS.—THE PLAGUE IN FRANCE. — BELZUNCE, BISHOP OF MARSEILLES. — ODIOUS SELFISHNESS OF DUBOIS. — UTTER DOWNFAL OF THE MISSISSIPPI SCHEME. —SATIRICAL SONG ON LAW.

ONE of the chief elements of the Regent's success in the war against Spain was the unexampled facilities of credit afforded by Law's bank. Such was the confidence reposed in this establishment, that its notes were deliberately preferred to specie; the state-bonds were exchanged for them, and the Regent found it convenient to conduct all the financial operations of the government through the medium of the bank. Law did not perceive that this success resulted entirely from the general belief in the convertibility of the notes; there could be no motive for exchanging them for specie, at a time when they were deemed more valuable than coin: and this accidental circumstance, which arose from the recent debasement of the coinage, led Law into the fatal mistake of supposing that it would be possible to substitute an inconvertible paper-currency

for bullion. The Regent was at once led away by a project which seemed to give him unlimited supplies of money: he converted the old establishment into a Royal bank, and authorised Law to buy up all the shares. The Parliament refused to register this edict, and denounced Law as a foreigner and a Protestant: orders for his arrest were given, which would have been executed had he not sought shelter in the Palais Royal, where he remained until the Regent had overcome the opposition of the Parliament by holding a bed of justice, as described in the preceding chapter.

In order to keep up the premium on his notes, Law refused to receive cash in exchange for them, except at a discount, and the holders of bullion, alarmed by the recent tampering with the coin, and perplexed by the great quantity of false money in circulation, willingly paid a premium for notes, which could be more easily used in commerce, and which were not regulated at the discretion of a council of state. It became the object of Law to maintain this fictitious value of the notes, and even to increase it by offering certain commercial advantages to the holders of them, and by subjecting the circulation of gold and silver money to certain vexatious regulations and restrictions.

Commercial privileges were lavishly granted to the Company of the Royal Bank, which had the monopoly of the farms in Alsace and some other provinces, the East India trade, the commerce of Canada and Senegal, —countries then almost unknown; and finally, it obtained the exclusive right to colonise Louisiana and

the large districts bordering on the Mississippi, ceded to France by the treaty of Utrecht.

The shares in Law's bank had risen to an exorbitant premium, simply from fair trading having enabled him to give a dividend of fourteen per cent. every half year. It was believed that similar or even greater profits might be obtained from shares in his other enterprises, and, the madness of speculation having once commenced, it was impossible to assign to it any reasonable limits.

Law's bank was erected in a short narrow street, in the most central quarter of old Paris, called La Rue Quincampoix. It was inhabited chiefly by Jewish and Christian usurers and pawnbrokers, whose unpopular trade required concealment. So soon as the news of the profits to be made on shares spread abroad, this miserable street became so thronged that the lieutenant of police would not allow it to remain a thoroughfare for carriages. Houses in the street, which previously yielded less than a thousand livres' rent, were let for as much as twelve or sixteen thousand. "A cobbler who had a stall in it, gained about two hundred livres a day by letting it out and furnishing writing materials to brokers and their clients. The story goes, that a hump-backed man who stood in the streets gained considerable sums by lending his hump as a writing-desk to the eager speculators! The great concourse of persons who assembled to do business brought a still greater concourse of spectators: these again drew all the thieves and immoral characters of Paris to the spot,

and constant riots and disturbances took place. At nightfall, it was often found necessary to send a troop of soldiers to clear the streets."*

The Great Company of the West, more usually called the Mississippi Company, undertook to colonise the vast tracts claimed by France in the interior of North America. These formed a kind of semi-circle hemming in the English settlements: they included Canada in the north, and Louisiana in the south, together with the rich prairies extending from Lake Superior to the Gulf of Mexico. Louis XIV. had ceded these unknown lands to a speculator named Crozat, who had travelled through the country, which he found to be either covered with primitive forests, or tenanted by hunting and warlike tribes of Indians, not very likely to allow settlers to intrude on their ground. "Crozat's Memoirs to the Minister of Marine" declare that there were no mines of the precious metals to be found in these lands; that the only commerce they afforded was a trade with the Indians for peltry; and he spoke dubiously of the agricultural capabilities of the soil, with the exception of the alluvial lands on the lower stream of the Mississippi. This was no very encouraging description, but when speculation gave an impulse to fancy, it was generally believed that the back woods of America were a perfect El Dorado. Tales were told and readily credited of gold mines found in Canada; of alluvial plains in Louisiana, where the most precious spices grew almost without cultivation; prospects of illimit-

* Mackay's Popular Delusions, vol. i.

able wealth seemed opened to every body; and Law was regarded as a kind of magician, who could create "ships, colonies, and commerce," by the wave of his wand. *

The first object of the company, and one in which the Regent took an active part, was to obtain a supply of labour for the proposed colonies. Efforts were made to enrol the peasants for emigration; but as the recruiting officers found few volunteers, recourse was had to more violent measures, and a system of deportation —adopted in opposition to every principle of justice and liberty—excited neither clamour nor reprobation, provided it rendered the colony populous. Fresh ac-

* The delusion was not universal; Crozat's sober Memoirs rendered all who knew them suspicious of the glowing descriptions circulated by the speculators. A clever pamphlet was published anonymously to shew that the creation of colonies is a work of time, and that the generation which has founded them must not expect to witness their prosperity. Lampoons were circulated at the first formation of the company; one of these was to the following effect:—

"The Mississippi now is bare,
But towns and cities will spring up there
In about two hundred years;
We 'll send our girls to those blythe lands,
Where eager husbands will seek their hands,
And soothe their maiden fears.

"Our miners will raise up precious ore,
Which is sure to be found on that happy shore,
If nature has placed it there.
The silver and gold our bonds will pay,—
The funds are safe—though they 're far away,—
Which secure the price of each share."

tivity was given to the slave trade ; the courts of justice were ordered to condemn criminals to transportation ; the Protestants of the south were subjected to the same punishment ; the police received orders to arrest all vagrants found on the roads and in the streets; but as they were the sole judges of what constituted vagrancy, they seized and detained several honest burgesses,—not, indeed, to transport them, but to extort bribes for their liberation.

At the same time all the houses of correction were emptied, and all the houses of ill-fame cleared by the police, in order to furnish a supply of wives to the colonists ; three convoys successively arrived in Louisiana laden with female convicts, for whose reception on landing no preparation whatever had been made. In this melancholy confusion we find only one fact of any importance : the city of New Orleans, now so flourishing, was founded by three or four score of smugglers, about a hundred miles above the mouth of the Mississippi. The Regent had divided this immense territory on the map into duchies and marquisates, which he distributed among the persons eminent for position or wealth, and the aid of despotism was invoked to people these grants. Law made a bargain with the Elector Palatine and other princes of Germany, who agreed to supply him with twelve thousand of their subjects to people his grant ; and short as his career was, he had time to transport four thousand of these unhappy men to America. But there had been no arrangement and no foresight in this

immense enterprise. The unfortunate men were landed in unknown marshes, overflowed every year by the river, without habitations, without a sufficient supply of provisions, at a season when yellow fever was most rife, and they perished for the most part in all the tortures of inexpressible misery.*

There had been two hundred thousand shares in the Mississippi Company sold at an original price of five-hundred livres each, but the company, as we have already mentioned, entered into several other speculations, which enabled them to multiply the number of shares indefinitely. The price of shares was continually rising for several months; it sometimes rose ten or twenty per cent. in the course of a few hours. An extensive holder of stock being taken ill, sent his servant to sell two-

* "The richest prairies, the most inviting fields, in the southern valley of the Mississippi, were conceded to companies, or to individuals, who sought principalities in the New World. Thus it was hoped that at least six thousand white colonists would be established in Louisiana. To Law himself there was conceded on the Arkansas one of those vast prairies, of which the wide-spreading waves of verdure are bounded only by the azure of the sky. There he designed to plant a city and villages; his investments rapidly amounted to a million and a half of livres; through the company, which he directed, possessing a monopoly of the slave-trade for the French colonies, he had purchased three hundred negroes; merchants from France, and a throng of German emigrants, were engaged in his service, or as his tenants; his commissioners lavished gifts on the tribes, with whom they smoked the calumet. But when, in 1727, a Jesuit priest arrived there, he found only thirty needy Frenchmen, who had been abandoned by their employer, and had no consolation but in the blandness of the climate and the unrivalled fertility of the soil."—BANCROFT'S *History of the United States.*

hundred and fifty shares, at eight-thousand livres each, the price at which they were then quoted, being just sixteen times their original cost. When the servant reached the Rue Quincampoix, he found that in the interval the price had risen to ten thousand livres. Of this he took advantage; he became the nominal purchaser of his master's shares, whose written authority to sell at eight thousand livres he duly registered, and on the instant he sold them at ten thousand livres, clearing half a million of livres, or about twenty thousand pounds, by the transaction. Before his right could be tested, he escaped with the money to another country.

Madame, the mother of the Regent, tells several amusing anecdotes of similar changes of fortune. "A lacquey had gained so much by his ventures in the Rue Quincampoix, that he was able to buy a carriage of his own. When the coach was brought to him, he forgot that it was his own, and was getting up behind. His footman exclaimed—'Sir, sir, what are you about? The carriage is your own.'—'O, true enough,' said the lacquey, 'but I had quite forgotten it.'

"Law's coachman, having gained a considerable fortune, demanded his dismissal. His master granted it on condition that he should find another coachman equally good in his place. On the next day, the enriched servant presented himself with two brethren of the whip, whom he declared to be equally good, adding, that if Mr. Law engaged the one, he would hire the other.

"Some women of quality, seeing a lady richly attired and loaded with diamonds, but whose person nobody knew, getting out of a handsome carriage, were curious to know who she was, and sent a footman to inquire. On his return, he answered with a sneer —'She is a lady who has tumbled from a garret into a coach!'— She was probably a woman of the same class as Madame Béjou's kitchen-maid. Madame Béjou, having gone one evening to the opera, saw a lady come in of a most vulgar figure, but attired in the richest satin, and wearing a quantity of jewels. Mademoiselle Béjou said to her mother —'Unless I am greatly mistaken, Mamma, that lady so splendidly dressed, is Mary, our kitchen-maid!' 'Hold your tongue, child,' replied the mother, 'do not talk such nonsense.' Some young people who were in the pit, overheard the conversation and began repeating, 'Mary the kitchen-maid! Mary the kitchen-maid!' Upon which the dame arose, and in presence of the whole audience said to Madame Béjou, 'Yes, madame, I am Mary the kitchen-maid; I have gained a fortune in the Rue Quincampoix; I have bought handsome dresses, and moreover, I have paid for them. Can you say so much for yours?"

Law soon finding that his residence in the Rue Quincampoix was unsuited to his increasing business, removed to the Place Vendôme, whither he was followed by the whole crowd of *agioteurs*, or traffickers in shares.* Spacious as that place is, it soon became as

* Among the many squibs which appeared at this time, not

thronged as the Rue Quincampoix, and the Chancellor, whose court stood on the place, complained that this stock-exchange was a complete nuisance, so that the Regent and the Parliament were forced to insist on its removal. Law then purchased the Hotel de Soissons, from the Prince de Carignan, at an enormous price, the prince reserving to himself the extensive and magnificent gardens, as a new source of profit. So soon as the bank had been established in this new locality, an edict was published, prohibiting the buying or selling of stock anywhere except in the Hotel de Soissons and the gardens attached to it. Five hundred tents were immediately erected in the gardens, each of which was let at the rate of five hundred livres, or twenty pounds per month, so that from this source alone, the Prince de Carignan, while the delusion

the least amusing is, "A List of the Chief Dignitaries in the Army of Agio. The general officers were, the Duke of Bourbon, generalissimo; the Marshal d'Estrees, general; the Duke of Guiche, commanded the corps de reserve and the auxiliaries; the Duke de Chaulnes and the Marquis de Mézieres were lieutenant-generals; the Prince de Poix, quarter-master; Caumont, major-general; Chattes and Vilaine, aides-de-camp; the Duke d'Antin, intendant, De la Force, treasurer; Laffey, grand provost; the Prince de Leon, secretary; Fimarcon and Dampierre, constables; La Faye, executioner; William Law and André, commissaries; Le Blanc, farrier; the Abbé de Coëtlogon, almoner; the Abbé de Tencin, at the head of the chaplains; Law, quack doctor; D'Argenson, surgeon-major; the Duke de Louvigny and the Count de Guiche, barbers; L'Ocmaria, Verüe, Chaumont, Jeffac, Gie, and de Pie, suttlers; marauders and sharpers, the Directors of the Bank; bullies, the Officers of the regiment of Guards; gazetteer, the Abbé Terrasson."

lasted, derived a monthly income of ten thousand pounds.

The enormous gains made by the first adventurers created a perfect rage of speculation in all classes of society, but more especially in the highest. The first Prince of the Blood, the Duc de Bourbon, is reported to have gained two hundred and fifty millions of livres, or about ten millions sterling, on his shares.* Ladies submitted to the most degrading compliances to secure an audience from Law. A duchess was seen to kiss his hand. "Another lady," says Madame, "who pursued him everywhere, learned that he was at the house of Madame de Simiane, and begged to be asked to dine with that lady. Madame de Simiane excused herself, saying, that she could not receive any friends that day, as M. Law dined with her. Madame de Bouchu replied, that it was for that very reason she was anxious to be invited. Madame de Simiane repeated, that she could not do anything which might annoy M. Law, and went away. Madame de Bouchu having found out her friend's dinner hour, drove by the house at the time, and made her coachman and footman raise the cry of fire. All immediately rose from table to inquire where the fire had burst out, and M. Law came out along with the rest. So soon as Madame de Bouchu saw him, she jumped out of her carriage to speak to him. But M. Law, who divined the trick, disappointed the lady and made his escape.

"Another lady ordered her coachman to drive

* Mémoires de Madame la Duchesse, &c.

opposite M. Law's hotel, and there overturn the carriage. The coachman was either awkward or slow in effecting this manœuvre, and she shouted to him, 'Overturn me, you scoundrel, overturn me!' He obeyed, a crowd was collected to see the result of the designed accident; M. Law came out to succour the lady, and then she confessed to him that the upset was an artifice contrived for the purpose of obtaining an interview."

Cupidity brought crime in its train; street robberies and assassinations became common. A murder committed by the young Count de Horn, for the purpose of robbery, excited the attention of all Paris, from the atrocity of the crime and the high rank of the criminal.* Rendered desperate by some losses at the gambling table, he invited a stock-broker to visit him, on pretence of business, and desired him to bring with him a considerable sum in bank notes. Having secured the aid of two accomplices, both of whom ranked as gentlemen, he sprang upon the broker the

* "The young Count de Horn, who has just been executed here (1720), belonged to a well-known Flemish family. In early youth he was distinguished by the most amiable qualities of heart and mind. At college he had been a model of order, of application, and of pure morals. But the acquaintance he made with some profligates while attending the academy of Paris entirely changed his character and habits. He acquired an insatiable passion for gambling. So depraved did he become, that his father used to say to him, 'You will never die but by the hand of the executioner.' When his money was exhausted, he took up the infamous profession of a thief, and stole silver-mounted swords and watches in the pit of the opera."—*Mémoires de Madame*, &c.

instant he entered the room, and the three assassins stabbed him to death with daggers, which they had purchased some days before on the Pont Neuf. In the hope of concealing his crime, De Horn went to the commissioner of the quarter, and told him with a determined and intrepid air, that he had been obliged to kill the broker, who had attacked him and put him in danger of his life. The commissioner, looking fixedly at him, replied, "You are covered with blood, and you are not wounded; these are very suspicious circumstances, and you must not be displeased if I place you under arrest.' At this moment one of the accomplices entered the room, and the Count called out, "Stop, sir, here is a gentleman who can testify that what I have told you respecting the assassination, is perfectly correct." At this exclamation the accomplice lost all presence of mind; he thought that the Count de Horn, under some compunction of conscience, had given information against himself, and under this impression made a full confession, revealing the matter exactly as it had occurred.

One of the accomplices died before he could be arrested; Horn and the other were sentenced to be broken alive upon the wheel. The chief nobles of France, and several ladies of rank,* interfered to obtain some mitigation of his sentence. They endeavoured to prove that the count was insane; saying that he had an uncle confined in a lunatic asylum, and they

* The young Count was only twenty-two years of age, and was one of the handsomest men in Paris.

demanded that he should be shut up for life as an incurable madman. The Regent replied, that the interests of society required the removal of madmen who committed crimes. They then represented the infamy which would attach to an illustrious House, connected with many of the reigning families of Europe,* if its representative should be treated as a criminal. The Regent replied, that the infamy was in the crime, and not in the punishment. They added, that a portion of the disgrace would attach to the House of Orleans, to which the count was distantly related. "Well, then, gentlemen," he replied, "I will share the disgrace with you."

Law and Dubois, who were deeply interested in the safety of the stock-brokers, by whom the fictitious value of their paper-money was maintained, used all their efforts on this occasion to render the Regent inexorable.† They, however, carried their vindictiveness too far. In Flanders, and in Germany, men of rank who committed crimes, were usually beheaded, and the punishment of the wheel was deemed so infamous, that the uncles, aunts, brothers, sisters, and the three next generations, were excluded from all dignities and high employments. When his attention was drawn to these results, the Regent yielded for a time, and promised to

* The Count de Horn was a near relation of the Prince of Orange, and his family was connected with the principal nobles and princes of Flanders and Western Germany.

† The citizens of Paris contributed to maintain his inflexibility. They protested that the pardon of the Count would place their lives at the mercy of the nobility. They were not far wrong.

commute the sentence into simple beheading; but Law and Dubois again interfered, and the count* and his accomplice were broken on the wheel. All the nobles of Flanders and Germany resented this indignity to their order; but the Parisians, though they had been melted into tears by the sad spectacle of the execution, loudly applauded the rigid justice of the Regent.

Robberies and assassinations however were not diminished in frequency by this stern example. Madame, the mother of the Regent declares, that in one month the population of the capital had been increased by a quarter of a million, in consequence of the great influx of strangers; beds were made up for lodgers in garrets, in cellars, and even in stables, and carriages so crowded the streets, which then had no *trottoirs*, that the police found it difficult to provide for the public safety. An immense impetus was given to the production of all kinds of luxuries; laces, silks, and velvets, were so eagerly sought, that the supply could not keep pace with the demand. Prices consequently rose, and with them the wages of labour. The Regent, who was prodigally lavish on his favourites, distributed bank-notes as rewards or bribes, with a profuseness unexampled. Law bought two splendid estates in different parts of France, and in order that religion should be no hindrance to his advancement, allowed

* The Prince de Montmorency had procured an interview with the criminal, and offered him a cup of poison to save him from infamy. The Count de Horn turned away his head and refused to take it. Montmorency having pressed him in vain, turned away, execrating his cowardice.

himself to be converted to the catholic faith, by the Abbé Tencin, whose doubts of Law's orthodoxy were all quieted by bank-notes and a liberal allotment of stock. The convert was immediately appointed comptroller-general of France; his son was invited to the King's juvenile ball, and his wife's society was courted by the principal nobility.* In this excitement, no one minded the death of Madame de Maintenon, who expired at the age of eighty-four, in the establishment at St. Cyr, which she had founded. Her death was probably hastened by the misfortunes which had overtaken the Duc de Maine. She was soon followed to the grave by the eccentric and profligate Duchess de Berri, the Regent's favourite daughter, whose strange adventures have been noticed in a preceding chapter.

The Mississippi shares, originally issued at five hundred livres, had risen as high as eighteen thousand; but Law was aware that this apparent prosperity rested on a very precarious basis. His first reverse was the consequence of a quarrel with the Prince de Conti.† "The place of comptroller-general which

* "When my son asked for a duchess to accompany his daughter to Genoa, some one who happened to be with him said, 'Sir, if you wish to have a choice of duchesses, send to Madame Law's saloon, you will find them all assembled there.'"—*Mémoires de Madame, &c.*

† "The Prince wanted Law to do something or other at the bank, which my son had forbidden. He said to Law, 'Pray, do you not know who I am?' 'Yes, prince,' replied Law, 'otherwise I should not respect you as I do.' The prince said, 'You ought then to obey me.' Law replied, 'I will obey you when you are Regent, but not before;' he then went away."—*Mémoires de Madame, &c.*

Law held," says St. Simon, "did not secure him from the extortions of the Prince of Conti, more avaricious than any of his family, and what does that not say? He had obtained heaps of money from the Regent, and large sums in addition from Law privately. Not content, he wished still to go on, but the Regent grew weary of him, and exhibited his dissatisfaction. The Parliament secretly organized a new opposition, and M. de Conti began to take a part in it unworthy of his birth, unsuitable to his age, and disgraceful to his character, after the favours with which he had been loaded. Repulsed by the Regent, he hoped better success from Law. He was deceived in his expectations; prayers, submissions and compliances—for he hesitated at nothing that could bring him money—having proved ineffectual, he had recourse to threats and menaces. In order to injure the bank, he went thither with three wagons, which he loaded with bullion, in exchange for the paper he presented."

Nothing could have been more injurious to the Bank than this manifestation of distrust by one of the Princes of the blood. It is true, the Regent compelled the Prince to send back two-thirds of the coin he had withdrawn, and that Conti's proceeding was generally condemned by the public; but the jobbers and brokers took the alarm, and secretly began to exchange notes for bullion in such small quantities as not to excite suspicion. With this they purchased plate and jewellery, which they exported for safety to England and Holland. One of them had collected gold and silver coin to the

amount of a million of livres, which he placed in a cart and covered over with dung; then disguising himself as a farm-labourer, he drove his precious load undetected across the frontiers, and found means to transport it safely to Amsterdam.

The want of specie began to be felt, and at the same time the prices of the Mississippi shares fell as rapidly as they had risen. This circumstance filled the shareholders with alarm, and gave rise to the strangest scenes in every circle of society. Speculators had bought shares in expectation of a continued rise; but as they were unable to hold them, they rushed into the market on the first symptom of a fall, and endeavoured to realise at any sacrifice.* Law believed that the Mississippi Company and the Bank, could mutually assist each other; whereupon he ordered that the Mississippi shares should be exchanged for notes at the

* "M. de Chirac, a celebrated physician, had bought stock at an unlucky period, and was very anxious to sell out. Stock, however, continued to fall for two or three days, much to his alarm. His mind was filled with the subject, when he was suddenly called upon to attend a lady, who imagined herself unwell. He arrived, was shewn up stairs, and felt the lady's pulse: 'It falls! it falls! good God! it falls continually!' said he, musingly, while the lady looked up in his face, all anxiety for his opinion. 'Oh! M. de Chirac,' said she, starting to her feet, and ringing the bell for assistance; 'I am dying! I am dying! it falls! it falls! it falls!' 'What falls?' inquired the doctor, in amazement. 'My pulse! my pulse!' said the lady; 'I must be dying.' 'Calm your apprehension, my dear madam,' said M. de Chirac; 'I was speaking of the stocks. The truth is, I have been a great loser, and my mind is so disturbed, I hardly know what I have been saying.'"—MACKAY'S *Popular Delusions*, vol. i.

price of nine thousand livres each. Speculation was at an end when the price of shares had been fixed by Royal edict; men hastened to change them for notes, and of course the country was deluged by an over-issue of paper-money. Confidence in the notes diminished as their number increased; it was in vain that Law issued edicts depreciating coin five per cent., and afterwards ten per cent. below paper. Everybody hastened to get rid of the notes; and the purchases of plate for export became so great, that Law issued an edict prohibiting any further manufacture of gold or silver, and proscribing the trade in diamonds and pearls. The holders of notes then sought to invest them in merchandise of different descriptions. The Duc de la Force, an intimate friend of Law's, and who had been one of the first to take the alarm, bought up such a quantity of drugs that he narrowly escaped a prosecution for monopoly.

Law mistook this contagion of fear for a malevolent plot: he therefore hazarded the bold experiment of prohibiting the use of specie altogether. An edict was issued forbidding any person whatever to have more than five hundred livres (about £20) in his possession under pain of a heavy fine and confiscation of the sum that might be found. Liberal rewards were offered to informers,* and they produced such terror that in one month forty millions of livres (£1,600,000)

* Lord Stair said sarcastically that it was impossible to doubt the sincerity of Law's conversion to the Catholic religion, since he had established the *Inquisition* after having given abundant proof of his belief in *transubstantiation* by turning so much gold into

were brought in coin to the Bank. But in spite of these measures, or, we should rather say, in consequence of them, the embarrassment of the finances became greater every day. The time for paying the interest on the State bonds was at hand; money could not be had, and in this dilemma the Regent published an edict, on the 17th of April, reducing the rate of interest from five to two per cent. The Parliament protested against such a profligate robbery of the public creditor; but its remonstrances were unheeded. On the 21st of May an edict was issued, ordaining that the value of shares and notes should be depreciated month by month until, at the close of the year, they should be reduced to half their existing rates. The price of paper money was falling of its own accord; but still the public was justly indignant at finding it depreciated by the very government which had issued it. The Parliament assembled, and resolved to proceed in person to demand justice of the King.* A deputation was sent to remonstrate with the Regent; several who were highest in his confidence assured him that this edict could not be maintained without in-

paper. This was not very grateful of Lord Stair, for he had gained three millions (120,000*l.*) by trafficking in Mississippi bonds on their first issue.

* At this period of history the Memoirs of Villars are more minute and accurate than those of Dangeau and St. Simon. Our text, therefore, is all but literally translated from the narrative of the brave old marshal; he was almost the only man in France whose hands remained clean during this melancholy period of cupidity and corruption.

curring the danger of a general insurrection. Menacing anonymous letters made a similar announcement in unmistakable language, and the edict was revoked. But it was impossible to destroy the impression it had produced. The credit of the Bank, and of all the bubble companies connected with it, was irretrievably ruined, and every one perceived that a national bankruptcy was impending.

The Duc de Bourbon, quitting his magnificent palace at Chantilly, came to Paris with the avowed purpose of impeaching Law; but a seasonable bribe of four millions—three millions of which went to the duke, and one million to his mistress, Madame de Prie—made a sudden change in his intentions, and he became a warm supporter of the unfortunate financier. Dubois urged the Regent to place Law under arrest, and it is to the credit of Philip of Orleans that he rejected this unjust advice: he gave Law a company of Swiss guards for his protection; but, with his usual double dealing, allowed it to be believed that the troops were sent to prevent his secret escape. Even the cautious D'Argenson was deceived by this avowal: he declared openly against Law, who was forced to resign his office of Comptroller-general.*

Law's influence, however, was not at an end; he

* "My son has been obliged to dismiss Law; this man whom people used to adore as a God, is no longer sure of his life, and is in an incredible agony of terror. He is no longer comptroller-general, but he remains director-general of the bank and of the East India Company. However, some members of Parliament

induced the Regent to recall D'Aguesseau to the chancellorship; on learning which D'Argenson at once resigned the seals, and refused to have any further connection with the ministry. He took the strange resolution of shutting himself up in the Convent of the Madeleine, with the prioress of which, Madame de Velmont, he had formed a most tender friendship, and for whom, as some believed, he entertained a very warm passion. It was not a little scandalous to see the head of the law spending two days a week in a nunnery; and it was still worse to find such a place chosen as a refuge by an ex-minister; but no objection was made to it by the Regent. The parliament was not conciliated by the restoration of D'Aguesseau; it was now supported by the Prince de Conti; * and having thus gained fresh strength, it refused to register any financial edicts. Though registration had not been necessary to the validity of ordinances since the bed of justice held two years before, Law and his Cabal were well aware that the opposition of the Parliament greatly injured the credit of his schemes; he therefore induced the

have been appointed to superintend his management of the bank. His good friend, the Duc d'Antin, has applied for the post of director."—*Mémoires de Madame, &c.*

* "It is a blessing for us that the Prince de Conti is such a poltroon, otherwise he would give my son much trouble. Some short time ago my son said to the princess that he had been informed that her husband caballed against him. She replied: 'But, monsieur, what do you want him to do? He likes to be talked about, and this is the only means of attaining his end that he can discover. Without some such recourse, who would ever think of mentioning his name?'"—*Mémoires de Madame, &c.*

Regent to exile the Parliament, first to Pontoise and afterwards to Blois. D'Aguesseau's concurrence in these harsh measures, was an irreparable injury to his reputation. Immediately afterwards an edict was issued for the total suspension of cash payments. Notes were at once depreciated seventy-two per cent., and shares almost ceased to bear even a nominal value. The general ruin involved by this crash may be appreciated when we learn that the amount of notes in circulation represented two thousand seven hundred millions of livres (188,000,000*l.* English), of which twelve hundred millions of livres (forty-eight millions sterling), had been issued illegally, but had been authenticated by edicts antedated by the Regent.

Villars and a large party in the Council of Regency insisted that Law should be arrested and brought to trial; but the Duke of Orleans felt too keenly that he was himself the chief cause of the ruin of the unfortunate financier. He sent for him, and had a long conversation with him on the dangers he encountered by remaining in France, and recommended that he should withdraw from the kingdom as privately as possible. Law was very anxious to take this advice: his life had been threatened by the mob; his courage broken to atoms; and he would have been torn to pieces could he have been found.* On the 29th of December he quitted Paris, under pretence of visiting one of his country-seats, crossed the frontier, and arrived safely at Brus-

* When intelligence of this outrage was brought to the Parliament, all the members rose simultaneously and expressed their

sels.* He entertained a hope that he would be again recalled to Paris, and for some years kept up an active correspondence with the Regent; but the hatred of the French people was too intense to be overcome; he wandered over Europe, supporting himself by his gains at the gaming-table. He died at Venice in 1729, in very embarrassed circumstances. A commission was appointed to revise the claims of the creditors of the State, and a new tribunal was created to inquire into the late financial malversations; both acted with the most capricious injustice; but they enforced a reduction of the debt, which was in fact equivalent to an act of national bankruptcy.

In the midst of this financial confusion, a terrible pestilence devastated the south of France. In May, 1720, the plague was brought to Marseilles by a vessel from the Levant. Its progress at first was slow, but

joy by a loud cheer. The president was so enthusiastic that he gave vent to his feelings in rhyme, exclaiming:—

"Messieurs! messieurs! bonne nouvelle!
Le carosse de Law est reduit en canelle!"

* "Law has retired to Brussels. Madame de Prie lent him her travelling carriage; when he sent it back, Law wrote the lady a letter of thanks, and enclosed in it a diamond ring worth 100,000 livres. Monsieur the Duke (of Bourbon) furnished him with relays, and sent four of his servants to protect him. When he was taking leave of my son, Law said, 'Monseigneur, I have committed some grave faults; I have done so because I am but a man and subject to human error; you will, however, find no fraud or trickery in my conduct.' His wife will not quit Paris till she has paid their debts. He owes ten thousand livres to his pastrycook alone."—*Mémoires de Madame*, &c.

as the summer advanced, the mortality arose to an alarming height. All the wealthy and influential fled from the devoted city; the parliament and the governor of the province set the example; the superintendents abandoned the lazaretto; the courts of justice were closed, because there were no judges; police officers and custom-house officers disappeared; the Provost and four Aldermen remained almost alone with only 1,100 livres (about 45*l.*) in the municipal chest, surrounded by a population without labour, without restraint, and without subsistence. They had to struggle incessantly amid the most frightful dangers against the disorders which daily occurred in a city abandoned to pestilence, famine, and despair, where the living were scarcely able to bury the dead. "Marseilles' good Bishop," Belzunce, son of a sister of the Duc de Lauzun, nobly performed his duty at this terrible crisis. He had long been a Jesuit, and was one of the most narrow-minded bigots in France;* but his devotedness and charity at this terrible crisis were above all praise. With heroic courage he visited the dying and the dead; sold all his goods to feed the poor, and roused all the clergy, both secular and regular, to follow his example. The Regent made every possible exertion to relieve the perishing population of Languedoc; but Dubois exhibited one of the most

* On the first appearance of the plague he published a pastoral letter, in which he asserted that the pestilence was a visitation of Providence to punish France for having resisted the publication of the Bull *Unigenitus*, and its ecclesiastical constitutions.

odious traits of sefishness recorded in history. Clement XI. loaded three vessels with grain for the relief of Marseilles: Dubois, believing that such a boon would lower the reputation of his ministry, ordered his envoy at Rome to prevent the ships from sailing. They sailed in spite of him, and were taken at sea by an Algerine corsair; but when the Mussulman learned their pious destination, he allowed them to pursue their voyage in safety. Finally, they reached Marseilles, where the cargoes were sold under the direction of the bishop, and the proceeds distributed to the poor.

The mortality was at its height in August: as the autumn advanced the intensity of the disease disappeared, and at the beginning of 1721 its ravages had entirely ceased, after it had swept away ninety thousand persons, four thousand of whom died in a single day. It was remarked, that this terrible visitation left a moral plague behind it: the survivors in Marseilles, Toulon, and Azles, became of a sudden remarkable for the most reckless and dissolute manners; the inheritances of the dead had raised many to sudden wealth, and they could not resist the intoxication of the double joy produced by their recent escape and their unexpected prosperity. Thucydides declares that similar results followed the cessation of the great plague at Athens.

The downfal of Law's system was hailed by a multitude of lampoons, libels, and caricatures, which were republished in the principal cities of Europe as fast as

they appeared in Paris.* Many of these possess great merit, but nearly all are tainted with the grossness which characterised the age. No one took the trouble of examining Law's system, which in truth rested originally on a sound basis, and crumbled to ruin simply because it had been pushed to an extravagant excess. If Law had not extended his issues beyond all possibility of convertibility, his bank would have been a national blessing. The French had to blame themselves for the insanity of their speculations in Mississippi stock; similar *manias* have appeared so often in England, that we can easily understand their phenomena; but no one has ever laid the blame of such follies upon the administration, or demanded that they should be avenged by impeaching the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

* The best of the songs written on Law is preserved in the Memoirs of the Duchess of Orleans; as it would be impossible to preserve its peculiar characteristics in a translation, we quote it in the original.

Aussitot que Law arriva
Dans notre bonne ville,
Monsieur le Regent publia,
Qu'il serait fort utile
Pour retablir la nation,
La faridondaine, la faridondon;
Mais il nous a tous enrichés,
Biribi,
A la façon de barbari,
Mon ami.

Ce parpaillot, pour attirer
Tout l'argent de la France,
Songea d'abord à s'assurer
De notre confiance;
Il fit son abjuration,
La faridondaine, la faridondon,
Mais le fourbe s'est converti,
Biribi,
A la façon de barbari,
Mon ami.

Jamais de si barbares lois
N'ont gouverné les hommes;
Qu'il est facheux d'être François,
Dans le temps où nous sommes!
Tout est ici confusion,
La faridondaine, la faridondon;
Chaque jour un nouvel édit,
Biribi,
A la façon de barbari,
Mon ami.

Law, le fils ainé de Satan,
Nous met tous à l'aumone;
Il nous a pris tout notre argent,
Et n'en rend à personne,
Mais le Regent, humain et bon,
La faridondaine, la faridondon,
Nous revend ce qu'on nous a pris,
Biribi,
A la façon de barbari,
Mon ami.

CHAPTER III.

DUBOIS. — HIS EARLIER POLICY. — ASPIRES TO A CARDINALSHIP. — THE ARCHBISHOPRIC OF CAMBRIA VACANT.—EFFORTS OF DUBOIS TO ATTAIN IT. — HIS SUCCESS.—HIS CONCESSIONS TO GEORGE I. OF ENGLAND.—HIS FRIENDS AT THE COURT OF ROME.— SUIT OF POPE CLEMENT XI. — RAGE OF DUBOIS.—PLAN OF LAFITAU.—THE ABBE DE TENCIN.—DUBOIS MADE A CARDINAL.—HIS CHANGE OF LIFE.—HIS JOURNAL.—HE VISITS MADAME— HIS TACT.—PROPOSED MARRIAGE OF LOUIS XV.—TWO OTHER PROJECTED ROYAL MARRIAGES.—CONFLAGRATION AT THE CHATELET.—ILLNESS OF THE KING.—RUMOURS AS TO ITS CAUSE.—MARSHAL VILLEROI.—HIS VIOLENCE AND ARREST.—EPIGRAM ON THE LATTER CIRCUMSTANCE.—LE BLANC AND BELLEISLE. — STORY OF MADAME DE PLEINŒUF AND HER DAUGHTER.—THE GOVERNESS AND DUBOIS.—THE LATTER AND HIS CLUBS.—CORONATION OF LOUIS XV.—CONGRATULATIONS AT VERSAILLES. —SPEECHES OF LOUIS XV. AND THE REGENT.—MORAL TRIUMPH OF THE DUKE OF ORLEANS.

DUBOIS consecrated his entire life to the Regent. He had adopted and developed all his plans from the period of his secret mission to Spain, on the accession of Philip V. to the completion of the great treaty of the Quadruple Alliance: furthermore, it was to the skill and firmness of Dubois that the Regent was indebted for the triumph of his system in Spain, the fall of Alberoni, and the adhesion of Philip V. to the arrangements dictated by the allies. In the internal administration of the monarchy, the services of Dubois were not less signal; it was he who urged the Duke of Orleans to adopt all those measures which gave force and unity to his go-

vernment. He broke down the obstinate resistance of the parliaments; he crushed the Spanish party in France; he disconcerted all the intrigues of the Duchess of Maine, and he had ended by centralizing in the ministry the influence which had previously been divided between several councils, and by those means had created a political system as powerful and definite as that of Louis XIV., which he had overthrown. On the vexed question of the bull *Unigenitus*, Dubois had early detected a dangerous tendency in the doctrines of the Jansenists; their opposition to the authority of the Pope was attended with a spirit of insubordination to the State, and too close an alliance with that party was consequently inconsistent with the Regent's notion of a strong government. Philip of Orleans alone knew the importance of these services. Hence he defended Dubois against the hatred of his mother, the rivalry of Saint Simon, and the more just indignation of those who were disgusted by the Abbé's vices.

Dubois aspired to the cardinalship; it was the only dignity which could cure his ignoble birth,* for Catholi-

* A whole volley of epigrams was fired off when it was known that Dubois was seeking a cardinalship. The following may serve as a specimen :—

"The purple of Rome is about to be stain'd
With more shame than the world ever saw;
For a cardinal's robes, desecrated, profaned,
Are about to encircle Dubois.
A beggarly pedant, of beggarly stock,
Who learning pursued as a trade,
Is deem'd wood good enough to supply us the block,
From which cabinet-rulers are made."

cism levels all ranks, and ecclesiastical dignities take precedence of temporal nobility. Alberoni, whose origin was as mean as that of Dubois, had governed the Spanish dominions in both hemispheres without any shock to diplomatic pride. Dubois had stronger claims to be premier of France, but the cardinalship could alone justify the Regent in setting his favourite above the haughty aristocracy.*

The cardinalship could only be obtained at Rome. The ambassador of France at the Papal Court was Cardinal de Rohan, a diplomatist of great skill, and exercising considerable influence in consequence of the extensive connections of the princely family of Soubise, from which he was descended. The ambassador informed Dubois that Father Lafiteau, afterwards Bishop of Sisteron, was the person of most influence in the councils of Clement XI. With him the negotiation was commenced; and it was laid down as a preliminary condition, that France should give a complete adhesion to the authority of Rome and the unity of the Catholic Faith. Thus, Jansenism was about to be abandoned for Jesuitism, and an entire system of ecclesiastical policy changed to gratify the ambition of Dubois.

The archbishopric of Cambrai became vacant by the death of the Cardinal de la Tremville at Rome. It was the richest see in France, having an annual income of

* Devoted as he was to the cause of the Regent, we find Saint Simon continually complaining of the elevation of a mere *parvenu*, such as Dubois.

a hundred and fifty thousand livres, and it was likewise a great step towards the coveted cardinalship. Dubois, who had only received the tonsure and was not in holy orders, resolved to obtain the appointment, but, in spite of his ascendancy over the Regent, he did not venture to make such a request in direct terms. He told the Regent that he had had a very pleasant dream. "What was it?"—"I dreamed that I had been appointed Archbishop of Cambrai." The Regent perceiving whither the conversation tended, turned on his heel and made no reply. Dubois was at first rather embarrassed, and gave several paraphrases of his pretended dream, but at length mustering courage he bluntly asked why such a favour should be refused him, and wherefore his Royal Highness should hesitate about making the fortune of so devoted and faithful a servant. Unscrupulous as Philip of Orleans was, he shrank from the scandal of such an appointment, and in a contemptuous tone exclaimed, "What! *you* Archbishop of Cambrai!" Dubois had gone too far to recede; he urged the Regent more closely, obviated all his objections, and reduced him to a ludicrous state of indecisive perplexity.

At length the Regent seemed to have discovered a means of escape. "But you are not ordained," said he, "and what prelate is there on earth who would admit you to holy orders?"—"Oh, if that is the only obstacle," replied Dubois, "the matter is settled; I know the man who will ordain me, and he is not far from this spot."—"And who the deuce is the man that

would dare to ordain you?" cried the Regent.—"If you assure me this is the only obstacle, I will tell you."—"Well, who then?"—"Your first almoner, who is outside; he will desire no better sport, I will go and speak to him about it." Dubois then knelt, kissed the Regent's hand as if everything had been settled, went into the antechamber, found the Bishop of Nantes, told him of his success, obtained from him a promise of ordination, and then returning to the Regent, acquainted him that all the necessary preliminaries were completed. Philip of Orleans was completely entrapped, and made no further difficulty, but signed and sealed the usual patent.

The Cardinal de Noailles was more obstinate. He refused to give Dubois letters demissory; but Pontoise, whither the Parliament had been exiled, was in the province of Rouen, and Dubois found its archbishop, Besson, far more tractable than the Cardinal de Noailles. Having obtained these letters, and a dispensation from Rome, Dubois received on the same day the three orders of sub-deacon, deacon, and priest from the Bishop of Nantes, who was bribed to this indecent irregularity by a promise of the next vacant archbishopric, which he soon after obtained. Having completed his business, Dubois returned to Paris in time to attend a meeting of the council, where his rapid ordination had excited no small discontent. The Prince of Conti took upon him to lecture Dubois for such an ecclesiastical scandal. The neophyte heard him to the end with great temper, and then coolly replied, that the irregularity was not

unparalleled, for that a precedent had been established in the case of St. Ambrose! The daring impiety of such an implied parallel shocked even the profligate Court of the Regent.

As if further to defy public opinion, the ceremonial of consecration was celebrated with a magnificence previously unknown in France. The officiating prelates were the Cardinal de Rohan; the Bishop of Nantes, who had already proved so complaisant in the matter of ordination; and the celebrated Massillon, then Bishop of Clermont, whose consent to take part in such a ceremony, is the worst stain on his otherwise irreproachable character, preached the consecration sermon. The Regent, the principal officers of State, and all the royal household were present, and the solemnities of the day were concluded by a splendid dinner at the Palais Royal.

Successful in his first object, Dubois exerted himself still more strenuously to obtain the cardinalship. George I. had great influence over the emperor, and that potentate had a decided authority in the councils of Rome. To gain the favour of the English monarch, Dubois consented to banish all the Jacobite refugees from France, including those members of Queen Anne's Tory administration, who had been most active, at the risk of their heads, in effecting the treaty of Utrecht, by which France had been saved from utter ruin. He then exerted himself to procure the acceptance of the bull Unigenitus; which the Parliament, wearied of exile at Pontoise, consented to register on

the 4th of December; and on the 16th of the same month, they returned to the capital.

The Emperor, the Regent, Philip of Spain, and the Duke of Parma, all advocated the cause of Dubois at the Court of Rome; but as Clement XI. was still inflexible, the poor Pretender was induced, by the offer of a pension, to join in the solicitation. This gave the Pope an opportunity of playing Dubois a masterly trick, which, even on the verge of the grave, had resistless temptations for the malicious pontiff. He delivered to Lafitau a document, in which he declared, that at the earnest solicitation of James III. lawful King of England, he had resolved to confer the next vacant cardinalship on the Archbishop of Cambrai. Dubois was perfectly furious;* he could not accept such a promise without compromising the entire policy of the Regency, and proclaiming himself an enemy to the Hanoverian succession, with which that policy had been so closely identified. The death of the Pope relieved him from this perplexity, but it compelled him to begin a new series of intrigues to obtain the coveted cardinalship.

Lafitau advised the buying up of the conclave, so as to ensure the election of a Pope pledged to the eleva-

* He wrote to the Bishop of Sisteron, "Truly the engagement you have obtained from the Pope is a master-piece; had Discord herself framed it she could not have devised anything worse. The Regent is insulted, the Pretender compromised; and I am covered in the eyes of Europe with ridicule and insinuations of treason. My only wish is that the document should not be seen by anybody, and that it may at once sink into oblivion."

tion of Dubois. Cardinal de Rohan was charged with the superintendence of this bribery, and he was aided by an associate who had given ample proof that he was not likely to be withheld by any conscientious scruples. This person was the Abbé de Tencin, the priest by whom Law had been received into the Catholic church, and who, on that occasion, had received bank-notes as conclusive evidence of orthodoxy. Just before Tencin started, he was accused of simony by the Abbé de Vesières. The case was tried in full parliament, the Prince de Conti and several peers being present. Tencin, observing that the advocate opposed to him faltered a little, offered to purge himself of the charge on oath. "Do not give yourself that trouble," said the advocate, "here is a document decisive of the case, which I require to have read." It was the original bargain for the sale of the benefice, signed with the Abbé de Tencin's own hand. An uproar of groans and hisses shewed the indignation of the Court at this barefaced attempt to cover a flagrant act of simony by equally flagrant perjury. Tencin endeavoured to escape, but the door was barred against him, and he had to endure a most bitter admonition from the president of the Court, for he condemned him to the payment of a heavy fine. This scandalous scene made no change in the arrangements of Dubois, and Tencin quitted the scene of his proffered perjury to set out for Rome and make a Pope.

Bribes were lavishly distributed, and influence successfully exerted. Cardinal Conti, who had given a

written promise that he would create Dubois a cardinal, was elected by the conclave, and took the name of Innocent XIII. But the new Pope was in no hurry to perform his promise: he appointed his brother a cardinal, and took no notice of Dubois. In spite of the ruinous condition of the French finances, fresh sums were raised and lavishly expended, until at length the appointment was formally announced, July 16th, 1721.

Cardinal Dubois abandoned many of the depraved habits in which, while an Abbé, he had indulged. Placed at the head of the State, he became a most assiduous and methodical man of business;* assuming a

* This change in the character and conduct of Dubois has been unfairly passed over by most historians. As an act of justice, we publish the curious document in which he arranged the distribution of his time, under the title of

JOURNAL OF HIS EMINENCE.

"Every day, from five until seven, the opening of the packets, expediting of the letters, petitions, and memorials of the day before to the different *bureaux*, and answers to private letters; seven to eight, arrangement of portfolios, dressing and arrangement of the King; eight, to a quarter before nine, the King's levee.

"Sunday.—A quarter before nine, waiting on his royal highness with the ministers and those who were sent for; half-past ten, instruction of the King; eleven, the royal mass; half-past eleven, public audience; half-past three, private audience of his royal highness; five o'clock, report of his eminence's first clerks; six, the secretary of state for war; seven, the comptroller-general.

"Monday.—A quarter before nine, waiting on his royal highness with ministers and persons sent for; ten, the signing of des-

decency of manners and gravity of demeanour, which quite disconcerted his enemies. At the same time, he adopted the policy and passions of the Court of Rome, to which at the outset he had made the most resolute opposition. The Regent was as much gratified by his favourite's success as Dubois himself. He presented the new cardinal to the young King, saying, "Sire, I present to you the archbishop of Cambrai, to whose zeal your Majesty is indebted for the tranquillity of the State and the peace of the Church of France, which but for him would have been disturbed by a cruel schism. The Pope, in grateful recognition of his ser-

patches for Holland, Germany, and the north, in the inner cabinet of his royal highness; half-past ten, instructing of the King; eleven, audience of the lieutenant of police in the apartments of his royal highness, or of his eminence; half-past eleven, council of conscience; three, waiting on his royal highness with the court of Toulouse, and then private audience with his royal highness; five, M. Couturier, preparation of the next day's reports for his royal highness; six, the lieutenant of police; seven, the comptroller-general, and the intendants of finances, who have been sent for.

"Tuesday.—A quarter before nine, signature of despatches for Italy, Spain and Portugal, in his eminence's apartments; half-past nine, report of the first clerks to his eminence; half-past ten, instruction of the King; eleven, waiting on his royal highness with persons sent for; half-past eleven, council of finances before the King; three, waiting on his royal highness with M. Couturier, the keeper of the seals, and the secretaries of state charged to prepare the next day's reports to his royal highness; five, the secretary of state for war; six, the comptroller-general.

"Wednesday.—From nine until dinner, audience of ambassadors and foreign ministers; three, continuation of the audience, or conversation with the ambassadors; four, journal of audiences,

vices, has sent him a cardinal's hat." The young King smiled on Dubois, and said, "I am much gratified at the Pope having chosen a prelate who has performed such eminent services."

Dubois displayed great tact in his visit of ceremony to Madame. She had never forgiven him his share in the marriage of her son to an illegitimate lady, even though that lady was a daughter of "the great King." She had obtained a promise from her son that he would never employ Dubois, and when that promise

and consequent preparations; five, private audience with his royal highness; half-past six, instruction of the King; seven, the comptroller-general and persons sent for.

"Thursday.—A quarter before nine, waiting on his royal highness with ministers and persons sent for; half-past ten, instruction of the King; eleven, audience to ministers previous to their departure for Paris; twelve, public audience; three, report of first clerks to his eminence; five, order and preparation of despatches for England, Holland, Germany and the north; seven, audience to persons sent for.

"Friday.—A quarter before nine, signature at his eminence's apartments of despatches for Italy, Spain and Portugal; half-past nine, report of first clerks to his eminence; eleven, expeditious signature and business with the clerks sent for by his eminence; three, M. Couturier, to prepare next day's reports to his eminence; four, audience to persons sent for; five, perusal of letters from Italy, and orders in consequence.

"Saturday.—A quarter before nine, waiting on his royal highness with ministers and persons sent for; half-past ten, instruction of the King; eleven, waiting on his royal highness with persons sent for; half-past eleven, council of despatches before the King; three, waiting on his royal highness with M. Couturier; five, the reading of letters from Spain and Portugal, and orders in consequence; six, the comptroller-general; seven, the secretary of state for war."—MSS.

was broken she continued to press upon the Regent the scandals, which the ostentatious profligacy of his minister brought upon his government. Etiquette obliged her to receive the new cardinal, but she prepared to go through the ceremony with a very bad grace. The tact of Dubois disconcerted her: when he advanced to salute her, he almost threw himself at her feet; he then took his seat in the circle, put on his red hat, but immediately uncovering, addressed her in a vein of apt and happy compliment. He began by expressing his surprise at finding himself in the presence of Madame in such an elevated position: he alluded to the meanness of his birth, and the humble nature of his early employments, and declared that he owed his rise to the patronage of the House of Orleans, and particularly to the friendship of the Regent. He protested that the devotion of his life would be insufficient to repay such services; and then delicately insinuated that the Regent was indebted for his statesmanlike qualities to the early training of Madame. All her indignation, if not overcome, was silenced; and when Dubois quitted the apartment, she could not avoid bearing reluctant testimony to his tact and ability.

Admitted as a cardinal to the Council of Regency, Dubois insisted on taking precedence of the Chancellor and all the nobility. This created some confusion. D'Aguesseau and the Duc de Villeroy openly protested against taking their places below the son of a country apothecary, and several of the nobility prepared to

join them; but the Regent, in the name of the King, declared that the privileges of the church must be respected, and that these placed cardinals above all temporal dignities.

Pardons were granted to those who had taken part in the conspiracy of Cellamare, and the insurrection of Brittany, on condition of their making full confession; but as the disaffected still had some hopes from Spain, Dubois contemplated a master-stroke of policy, whereby Philip V. might be reconciled to the Regent. By a secret treaty, all the places taken during the war were restored. A fresh treaty was signed between Spain, France, and England, in which new privileges were conceded to the English trade with Spanish America, and Philip V. was reconciled to this sacrifice by obtaining some strong places in the Pyrenees.

These were only preparatory to his great scheme. He proposed the marriage of Louis XV., then twelve years of age, with the Spanish Infanta, so soon as she attained maturity, for she was at the time only three years old. But this marriage, which gratified every feeling of Philip V., was dependent on a second marriage,—that of the Prince of the Asturias, fourteen years of age, with Mademoiselle de Montpensier, fourth daughter of the Regent, who was barely twelve years old. Thus, more than a hundred years ago, the destinies of the House of Orleans turned on a Montpensier marriage. Some months later, a third marriage was projected, between the Prince Don Carlos, the son of

Philip, by his second wife, for whom his mother was prepared to demand the inheritance of her family in Italy, and Mademoiselle de Beaujolais. The Duc de Saint Simon, much to the annoyance of Dubois, was selected by the Regent to negotiate these marriages; but the cardinal took his revenge by compelling the ambassador to maintain an extraordinary pomp, which seriously impaired his fortune.

When the proposed marriages were announced in the Council of Regency, there was not a single member that did not loudly applaud the long-desired reconciliation between France and Spain. Still some disquietude was felt at the disproportion between the age of the King and his destined bride; and the old distrust of the Regent was revived. It was whispered that he had selected an infant queen to increase the chances of an Orleans dynasty inheriting the throne of France. Instead of the King having an heir in six or seven years, the proposed marriage would compel him to wait twelve or fifteen years; and, during that period, accident or crime might destroy his feeble life.

These rumours were aggravated by public disasters. The old wooden bridge at the Chatelêt, which was covered with a mass of sheds and houses densely inhabited, took fire and was consumed before any efforts could be made to check the conflagration. Many lives were lost; the Seine was covered with the bodies of women and children; and the exertions of the municipal authorities were insufficient to check the outrages perpetrated by robbers during this period of confusion.

A still more terrible conflagration took place in Rennes. The city was almost entirely destroyed; malicious rumours averred that it had been fired by order of the Regent, to punish the rebellious tendencies of the people of Brittany.

Suspicion was changed into alarm when it was announced that the King was suddenly and dangerously ill. He had overheated himself in the park at Meudon; had exposed himself to a chill, and was attacked by fever and sore throat. The dukes hastened to visit the Royal patient; St. Simon was one of the first; and as he stood by the bed-side, the Duchess de la Fertè (sister to the Duchess de Ventadour, who had been the King's gouvernante) approached him, and pointing to the King, said in a loud whisper, "He is poisoned! he is poisoned!" It was with some difficulty that this injudicious lady was prevented from communicating her groundless suspicions to the King. All the physicians were in despair. Chirac, physician to the household, declared that he knew of no remedy appropriate to the case; but at length, a young physician named Helvetius, proposed that his Majesty should be bled in the soles of the feet. The experiment was hazarded and proved perfectly successful. Louis XV. speedily recovered, and was restored to the prayers of his faithful people.

So inveterate were the prejudices against the Duke of Orleans, that the King's escape was universally attributed to the vigilance of the Marshal de Villeroy; and countless songs in praise of his loyal devotion were

sung in the streets.* Villeroy made the most of the opportunity to impress a general belief of his zeal and fidelity. He escorted the King to Notre Dame and Sainte Geneviève, where thanksgivings for his recovery were offered with unusual solemnity. He proclaimed that on the evening of the festival of St. Louis, the King would shew himself at the windows of the Tuilleries, and witness the spectacles and fire-works displayed on the occasion. Louis XV., who was shy and awkward, by no means relished this publicity, and was with difficulty induced to present himself to the dense crowds in the Place du Carousel and the gardens of the Tuilleries. †

Dubois hated and feared Villeroy, believing that he would influence the King to deprive him of his office so soon as his Majesty had attained his majority. The Marshal had rendered himself equally insupportable to

* None of them are worth translating; one is, however, remarkable for its *refrain*, which is,

"*Lampions, Lampions,*
Camarades, Lampions;"

a *refrain* also adopted by the Parisians in the popular songs of the late Revolution.

† "The crowd shouted *Vive le Roi!* whenever he appeared, and the marshal detaining him, for he wished always to retire and hide himself, said :—'See, my master, all this crowd and all these people; they all belong to you, you are their lord and master; satisfy them by looking at them, since they all belong to you!'—A fine lesson for a governor to give! He repeated it every time he brought the King to the window, for fear it should be forgotten. It was remembered but too well."—*St. Simon*, vol. xxxv.

the Regent by his parade of superfluous and invidious precautions against the dangers by which he pretended that the life of Louis was menaced. One day he filled the Court with complaints because the King had eaten a biscuit which had not been taken from the closet of which Villeroy ostentatiously kept the key. On another occasion, the use of a handkerchief not taken from the wardrobe which Villeroy similarly guarded, gave occasion for a like scene of scandal and confusion. Such extravagancies could only be endured in an old man of eighty, whose age gave ground for the hope of a speedy deliverance from the inconveniences produced by his temper.*

Dubois, wishing to obtain Villeroy's support, sought an interview with him through Cardinal de Bissy, who found the marshal apparently as anxious for a reconciliation as the minister. Bissy brought Villeroy to the levee of Dubois: the three entered into a private cabinet. The marshal and the minister exchanged many mutual compliments, and then began a series of friendly explanations. But explanations are frequently very awkward matters. Villeroy began to lose his temper, and was the more aggravated that Dubois remained perfectly calm and impassive. At length the marshal gave full vent to his passions: he heaped upon Dubois the most cutting invectives and bitter reproaches, declared

* "So popular was Villeroy with the mob, that when he was laid up with the gout, *les dames des halles* sent a deputation to visit him in bed, and inquire after his health."— *St. Simon*, vol. xxxv.

that he never could be on terms with such a wretch, and ended by exclaiming, "Arrest me, if you dare!"

Some days elapsed; nothing was said of this scandalous scene; and Villeroy believing that he had triumphed, ventured on a still more flagrant violation of decency. On the evening of the 12th of August, the Regent paid his usual visit to the King, and after some conversation asked his Majesty to accompany him into a private closet, as he wished to converse with him on some matters of secrecy and importance. Villeroy at once opposed the proposal. The Regent with great temper said that, as the King had so nearly attained his legal majority, it was quite proper that he, the administrator of the kingdom, should have an opportunity of conversing with his Majesty on matters which could not safely be discussed in the presence of a third person. The marshal replied with great warmth, that he alone was responsible for the personal safety of the young King; that he could not permit any proposals to be made to him which his governor was not allowed to hear, much less in a room where his ward would be out of his sight, and where he could not answer for his safety. Philip of Orleans was for a moment kept silent by surprise; but then assuming the tone of a master, he told Villeroy that he had forgotten himself and the rank of the person to whom he was speaking; but that no altercation was allowable in the presence of the King. He then respectfully saluted Louis and withdrew.

It was justly anticipated that Villeroy, on cool reflection, would become alarmed, and would tender an

apology to the Duke of Orleans on the following morning: accordingly, preparations for his visit were made with great secrecy. He arrived about noon, with his usual noise and bustle, but alone, having left his carriage and servants outside the gate. When he entered the ante-room, he demanded to be immediately admitted to the Regent; and being told that he was engaged, repeated the demand in a louder tone, and advanced, as if to force an entrance. A captain of the guards then presented himself, demanded his sword, and placed him under arrest. Villeroy was furious; but in an instant he was forced into a sedan-chair, carried across the garden, placed in a travelling-chariot kept ready for the purpose, and hurried off to his country seat under a strong escort.*

Louis XV. felt deeply grieved at the exile of his governor, to whom he believed that he had been indebted for the preservation of his life; and his sorrow became clamorous when he learned that his beloved preceptor, the Bishop of Frejus, had secretly withdrawn from Court in consequence. The bishop, however, was easily induced to return, and Louis was so delighted

* The exile of Villeroy produced so deep an impression, that Dubois deemed it necessary to issue a manifesto to explain it. Several epigrams and lampoons were produced on the occasion. We quote one, the peculiar point of which renders it untranslatable:

"Villeroi, ton exil met le comble a nos maux:
Quand pour les soulager on demande aux echoes,
Qui plaindrons nous le plus, l'Etat ou Villeroi?
De leur mourant voix, ils respondent *Le Roi!*"

at seeing him again, that he made no objection to receiving the Duc de Charost as his new governor. About the same time he removed from Paris to Versailles, a change which gave great offence to the Parisians, and revived old suspicions and scandals. But ambition was no longer a passion of the Regent: he had exhausted all his powers of mind and body in dissipation. The government of the State devolved on Dubois, and in the August of 1722 he was appointed prime minister, believing that he had before him such a career as Richelieu* or Mazarin.

Dubois had as much jealousy as ambition. He exerted himself to exclude every person of virtue, talent, or influence from the presence of the Regent, he procured the dismissal of nearly all his early friends, and even used unfair means to destroy his own creatures when they seemed to grow too powerful. Amongst those who incurred his suspicions were Le Blanc, one of the secretaries of state, and Bellisle, who held an important office in the finance department. The means taken for the overthrow of these supposed rivals are connected with an extraordinary episode, too characteristic of the age to be omitted.

Among the rich financiers of Paris M. de Pleinœuf held a leading place. He was connected with the

* In imitation of Cardinal Richelieu, he had caused himself to be elected a member of the academy, and affected to patronise men of letters. Voltaire enrolled himself in the ranks of his flatterers, and addressed an ode to him, full of the most exaggerated compliments on his statesmanship.

Bertholet family, all the members of which were engaged in various departments of the money trade, and had contributed to the elevation and aggrandisement of each other by always acting in concert. Pleinœuf held a lucrative office in the war department, and his great wealth enabled him to receive at his house some of the principal courtiers. His wife, belonging, like himself, to the citizen class, was beautiful, agreeable, and highly accomplished, having received a far better education than was then usual in her rank of life. Their mansion soon became celebrated: the husband had his party of men of business—the wife her circle of men of pleasure and fashion: neither interfered with the other, and the lady was allowed to select her lovers at discretion. She had many; but she would not allow of any jealousy amongst them: all were obliged to submit to her caprice, and each might expect a share of her favours in return. Among the number were Le Blanc and Bellisle, whose friendship was not interrupted by their being both attached to the same fair lady.

Madame de Pleinœuf had several children, and among others a daughter, who, to her mother's beauty and accomplishments, added the charms of sparkling wit and lively conversation. But when this daughter grew up, and seemed likely to become a formidable rival, the mother wished to keep her in strict seclusion. The young lady revolted, and gave vent to some bitter sarcasms on maternal jealousy. Pleinœuf was forced to interfere to keep the peace; he succeeded very im-

perfectly, and consequently resolved to marry his daughter out of the way as quickly as possible.

Her hand, indeed, had already been sought by several suitors. The Marquis de St. Prie was preferred: he was poor, but highly connected, being a cousin of the Duchess de Ventadour. He had lost his military appointments; but a new career was opened to him in diplomacy. The marriage was celebrated with great splendour; the new marchioness was presented at Court by the Duchess de Ventadour; Louis XIV. spoke highly of her grace, wit, and modesty; and the Marquis de Prie was appointed ambassador to the Court of Turin.

The marquis and marchioness won golden opinions in Italy. They were lavish in expenditure, splendid in dress, and luxurious in entertainments, for Pleinœuf discounted every bill issued by his noble son-in-law. But Louis XIV. died; financial embarrassments began to produce disorder; and the marquis deemed it prudent to resign his expensive embassy. The Marchioness de Prie returned to Paris, having gained largely in tact and experience. She entered the highest circles of fashion, and everywhere created an immense sensation. Madame de Pleinœuf felt herself quite eclipsed by her daughter, who had youth, rank, and fashion in her favour; while Pleinœuf's heavy losses diminished the mother's countervailing influence of wealth. Open war was declared between the two rivals, and it soon became known, in the circle of Madame Pleinœuf's lovers, that the surest road to

her favour was to exhibit deadly enmity to her daughter.

The Marchioness de Prie became the avowed mistress of the Duc de Bourbon, over whom she exercised the most unbounded influence. Dubois contrived to excite her against Le Blanc and Bellisle, whom she already hated as lovers of her mother. At her instigation, the Duc de Bourbon accused both of complicity in the dishonest bankruptcy of Jouchere, who had been the treasurer of the extraordinary war expenses. By the joint influence of the duke and Dubois, the Regent consented to send Jouchere to the Bastille, to exile La Blanc, and to hold Bellisle to bail, until his accounts were investigated. The place vacated by Le Blanc was given to Breteuil, an obscure provincial officer, who had rendered the cardinal an essential service, by destroying the proofs of his early marriage, and inducing his wife to accept a moderate pension. Though these facts were more than suspected,—in fact, were generally known, he was chosen president of the assembly of the clergy, as if to shew the Church of France had resolved to share the degradation of the State. Dubois was more anxious to keep himself in power than to perform the duties which power imposed. Almost all his time was devoted to the reception and perusal of reports from the secret police which he kept to watch the movements of the Duke of Orleans. Hence the public business fell greatly into arrear; he was obliged to refuse audiences to all but the foreign ambassadors, and he insulted grossly any one who

found means to obtain an interview with him uninvited.

Madame de Conflans having been appointed governess to the children of the Duke of Orleans, was asked by the duchess if she had waited on Cardinal Dubois. She replied that she had not done so, for that the situation she held was so slightly connected with public affairs, that she did not think such a step necessary. The duchess declared that the peculiar intimacy between the cardinal and the Regent, rendered such a step indispensable. The governess still refused, declaring that Dubois was impolite and harsh to all who visited him; but being reassured by the duchess, she consented to make a trial. She followed the cardinal into one of the saloons at Versailles, where she found him standing near the fire, and scolding a lady at a furious rate. When this lady retired, Madame de Conflans advanced. As she was short and slight, Dubois did not notice her until she came quite near to him. He then sharply asked who she was and what she wanted. In her confusion, she began to address him as "My Lord," instead of "Your eminence." Dubois swore* at her for making such a

* "He had for his private secretary an unfrocked monk named Venier, who had been for twenty years in his service. The secretary accommodated himself to all Dubois' habits, and could say freely to him any thing he pleased. One morning the cardinal asked him for some paper, which could not immediately be found. Dubois began as usual to swear, to blaspheme, and to curse his clerks, who were all thrown into confusion by his excessive violence. Venier listened to the storm with the most perfect

mistake, but this added to her confusion, upon which he seized her by the shoulders, turned her right round, and pushed her out of the room.

The revived suspicions against the Regent, and the offence given to many persons of the highest rank by the intolerable coarseness of Dubois, produced an excitement in Paris which it was deemed necessary to avert by hastening the ceremonial of the coronation. St. Simon, in the name of the ducal peers, refused to attend, unless the precedence of his order should be maintained, and the dukes placed at the head of the nobility and above the magistracy. Dubois, who was at this time seeking a reconciliation with the Parliament, refused to assent to St. Simon's conditions; none of the dukes therefore went to Rheims, save those who held offices which rendered their presence indispensable, and the attendance of the rest of the nobility was very partial and scanty. St. Simon avers that the ceremony was irregular and incomplete, for the Regent, with careless indolence, allowed princes, prelates, and officers of State to act whatever part they pleased.

calmness imaginable. The cardinal addressed him; he asked if it was not a horrible thing to be so badly served when he paid his servants so liberally, and he then burst forth into a new tempest of execrations. 'Please your eminence,' said Venier, 'just take an additional clerk, and give him as his sole employment the task of swearing and scolding for you, and all will be right; you will be well served for the future; and furthermore, you will have a great deal of time at your disposal.' The cardinal could not avoid laughing, and soon allowed himself to be appeased."—*Mémoires de St. Simon.*

Immediately after the coronation, the Regent and Dubois began to give the young King a series of lectures on politics and the art of government. They had abandoned at this time most of the political principles adopted at the commencement of the Regency; they had been reconciled to Spain; they were becoming estranged from England; they had treated the Parliaments as harshly as Louis XIV. himself, and they had gradually restored the legitimated princes to their ancient rank. Jansenism was no longer in favour; a close alliance with Rome was declared to be essential to the peace of the Gallican church, and dissent was harshly persecuted wherever its presence was even suspected. The legal age for the majority of the King in France was thirteen; and as this period approached, the old friends of Louis XIV. loudly expressed their hopes that the power of Orleans and Dubois would be brought to an end. They did not know the ties of tender affection by which the King was bound to the Regent. Louis XV. believed that the preservation of his life was owing to the vigilance and attention of Philip of Orleans; the dark rumours and foul suspicions which were circulated seemed only to increase his confidence in the Regent; though he spoke little, his eyes were ever fixed on his uncle with a respect and love that were almost filial.

On the 19th of February, 1723, the King received at Versailles the respects and congratulations of the Duke of Orleans and the whole Court on having attained his majority. A declaration was published,

announcing the cessation of the Regency, and preparations were ordered to be made for its solemn registration in a bed of justice. Louis XV. made his public entrance into Paris on the 20th, and the second day after was fixed for his reception by the Parliament.

At noon, on the 22nd, which proved to be a bright, clear, frosty day, the quays from the Tuilleries to the Pont Neuf, and the line of road from thence to the Palais de Justice, were crowded with anxious spectators, a space barely sufficient for the passage of the procession being kept by the guards. Salvos of artillery, scarcely heard above the cheers of the multitude, announced the moment when the King quitted his palace. Short as was the distance he had to traverse, the anxiety of the Parisians to catch a glimpse of their sovereign, prevented his reaching La Sainte Chapelle before two o'clock ; there he alighted and performed his devotions at the altar, said to have been erected by St. Louis. A deputation of four presidents, wearing their mortar-caps, and eight councillors in their red robes, conducted him to the court of Parliament, where the prelates and ducal peers were assembled in their robes of State, including three new dukes created by the King on the day he attained his majority.

Louis XV. placed himself upon his bed of justice of crimson velvet, and, when silence was re-established, pronounced these few words:—"Gentlemen, I have come to my Parliament to inform you, that according to the law of my state, I will henceforth assume the

government of it." The Duke of Orleans, having first stood up, then seated himself, and remaining uncovered addressed the King with an unspeakable expression of respect and tenderness. "Sire, we have at last arrived at the happy day so much desired by the nation and by me. I render to a people passionately attached to their rulers, a King whose virtues and intelligence in advance of his age, already guarantee the happiness of his subjects. I restore to your Majesty the kingdom as tranquil as when I received it, and I do not hesitate to say, more assured of permanent repose than it was at that period. I have endeavoured to repair the dilapidation of the finances, caused by prolonged wars; and if I have been unable to terminate that work, I am consoled by the glory you will gain by its accomplishment. I have sought in your own house for an alliance for your Majesty, which, by strengthening the ties of blood between the sovereigns of two powerful nations, will unite their interests yet more closely, and ensure their common tranquillity. I have watched over the sacred rights of your crown and the interests of the church, which your piety renders more dear to you than those of your crown. I hastened the ceremony of your consecration to augment, if it were possible, the love and respect of your subjects for your person, and to make it even a religion. God has blessed my cares and labour, and the only recompense I ask from your Majesty is the happiness of your people. Render them happy, Sire, by ruling them with that spirit of wisdom and justice which are the characteristics of great Kings,

and which, as every thing promises us, will be particularly yours."

The deep emotion with which the duke spoke produced a marked effect upon the assembly. Louis XV. replied with tears in his eyes, "My dear uncle, I will never propose to myself any other glory than the happiness of my subjects, which has been the sole object of your Regency. In order that I may succeed in my labours, I desire that you should preside next to me in all my councils, and I confirm the choice, already made by your advice, of Cardinal Dubois as my first minister of State."*

After a few moments of respectful silence the Duke of Orleans advanced, and knelt down to do homage to the young King; but Louis XV. sprang from his seat, threw himself on his uncle's neck, and affectionately embraced him. This was a complete refutation of the calumnies perseveringly directed against the Regent for

* The honours thus heaped on the Duke of Orleans by the young King gave great offence to the old enemies of the Regent, which they manifested by a new storm of invectives, satires, epigrams, and lampoons. We shall give one as a specimen.

"Poor infant, poor King! Do you know what you do?
Just escaped from one minister's malice,
You pick out the Regent, the worst of the two,
To make him the *Mayor of the Palace.*
"The thunder that struck down the tyrants of old,—
Whose crimes were by Philip repeated,—
Both Honour and Justice forbid to withhold,
While both by delay are defeated."

At the request of the Duke of Orleans no efforts were made to discover the authors of these libels.

eight years: the child whose murder he was said to have contemplated recognised him as the preserver of his life and crown. It was a moment of moral triumph greater and prouder than the Duke of Orleans could have enjoyed, had the diadem encircled his own brows.

CHAPTER IV.

RENEWED FAVOUR OF DUBOIS.—HIS ILLNESS.—MANNER OF HIS DEATH.—THE DUKE OF ORLEANS PRIME MINISTER.—MADAME D'AVERNE.—VOLTAIRE'S FLATTERIES.—MADEMOISELLE CHAROLAIS.—THE DUCHESS OF PHALARIS.—THE DUKE OF ORLEANS AND HIS PHYSICIAN.—SUDDEN DEATH OF THE DUKE.—HASTY APPOINTMENT OF THE DUC DE BOURBON.—LAMPOONS ON THE MEMORY OF THE DUKE OF ORLEANS.—SUMMARY OF HIS CHARACTER.—HIS SECOND DAUGHTER MADEMOISELLE DE CHARTRES.—HER ECCENTRICITIES.—HIS THIRD DAUGHTER MADEMOISELLE DE VALOIS AND THE DUC DE RICHELIEU.—MARRIAGE OF MADEMOISELLE WITH THE DUKE OF MODENA.—MADEMOISELLE DE MONTPENSIER, YOUNGEST DAUGHTER OF THE DUKE OF ORLEANS.—SHE MARRIES THE PRINCE OF THE ASTURIAS.—ABDICATION OF PHILIP V. OF SPAIN IN FAVOUR OF THE PRINCE HIS SON.—LETTER OF VOLTAIRE.—DEATH OF THE YOUNG KING OF SPAIN.—RESUMPTION OF THE CROWN BY PHILIP V.

CARDINAL Dubois confirmed in his authority as prime minister by the King in his bed of justice, retained all the prerogatives and influence he had enjoyed under the Regency, and believed that a career of power was before him similar to that of Richelieu, whom he had always proposed as his model. His life became more laborious than ever. Exhausted by dissipation, the Duke of Orleans yielded to his constitutional habits of indolence; on Dubois devolved all the fatiguing details of administration: he had to place the most complicated questions of policy before the duke in such a simplified form that he could decide on them without fatigue, a task of no ordinary difficulty when a states-

man has to labour for one of inferior intelligence. But the cardinal had long known that his power over the Regent entirely depended on his extraordinary skill in simplification of arrangement, by which he kept Philip of Orleans perfect master of State-affairs without any laborious exertion on the part of the latter. But he had now to initiate Louis XV. into the principles of government and acquire his confidence, by presenting to him the most involved affairs of State in a form that might amuse and interest a boy. To these tasks Dubois devoted himself with unexampled assiduity: his labours commenced at five in the morning, and were often protracted beyond midnight.

These exertions soon undermined his health. The King, to spare him the trouble of fatiguing journeys, removed from Versailles to Meudon. A review of the household was commanded, and Dubois resolved to be present on horseback; but the exertion aggravated a disease from which he had long suffered, and he was obliged to have recourse to medical advice. Like Richelieu, he made every possible effort to conceal his malady from the world: he went to the council as often as he could, made appointments with the ambassadors at Paris which he knew he could not keep, and gave way to the most furious bursts of passion if any one attempted to speak to him as he passed in his litter. But the disease rapidly gained strength, and he was at length informed that his only chance of life lay in submitting to a very doubtful surgical operation. Three days elapsed before a reluctant assent to the trial could

be extorted, but it was then too late: the surgeons, after the operation, informed him that his hours were numbered.

If we may believe St. Simon, the death scene of the cardinal was as indecent as his life had been. He rejected the last sacrament, cursed the physicians and attendants; ascribed his death to the stupidity of the surgeons, and quitted life in rage and despair.* Several solemn services were performed for the repose of his soul; but no ecclesiastic could be found to deliver a funeral oration.

The Duke of Orleans did not exhibit much grief for the loss of Dubois; in truth, he had long been wearied of the ascendancy of the cardinal, who directed all his actions and kept spies on all his movements. The servant and master had changed places; the Duke of Orleans was a mere instrument in the hands of the minister, and whenever he ventured to differ from Dubois, he had to endure a burst of his violent temper, as if he had been one of his inferiors.

Immediately after the cardinal's death, the Duke of Orleans brought the intelligence to the King, at

* Dubois must have died enormously rich. According to Saint Simon, his income consisted of

Ecclesiastical benefices . . .	£13,500
Salary as prime minister . . .	£10,500
Pension from England . . .	£40,000
	£64,000

He left all his property to his brother, who bestowed the greater part of it on public charities.

Meudon, who invited him to take the vacant office of prime minister. The appointment was rapidly hurried through the customary forms, partly in consequence of the King's sincere love for the Regent, and partly because the Bishop of Frejus, who still remained with his royal pupil, feared that if another were chosen, he might object to the influence which the bishop exercised over the King. One of the duke's first acts was, to recall his old friends, whom the jealousy of Dubois had driven into exile; and he gave some of them large pensions as a recompense for their sufferings.

But business did not interrupt the licentious pleasures of the Duke of Orleans. A little before the death of the cardinal, he had a brief intrigue with his own cousin, Mademoiselle de Charolais; a previous mistress, Madame d'Averne, betrayed the secret to the Duc de Bourbon, the lady's brother, and his indignation had nearly produced a dangerous explosion in the Court.* Since the death of the Duchess de Berri, Philip of Orleans had become more deep in his potations, and more extravagant in his licentiousness.

* "The Duke of Bourbon wrote the following letter to Dubois:

"MONSIEUR,—I am informed that Madame d'Averne has been dismissed, and it is reported that she will be replaced by Mademoiselle de Charolais. Your eminence may well believe that I put no faith in this intelligence; still, as I have seen some extraordinary things in my time, I am bound to pay it some attention, to prevent the possibility of mischief. For this reason I write to say, that my sister is in the midst of the Cabal which is so fierce against you, me, and all your friends; furthermore, should such a thing happen, the duchess and I would not endure it; and we should have scenes with the Duke of Orleans which would not

The strongest wines were those which best suited his palate. Mesdames Sabran and Parabere no longer reigned supreme over his imagination; he loved, however, to chat with them at his suppers; he smiled at the desperate passion for gambling evinced by Madame de Parabere at the pharaoh table; and he applauded the gross jests which were hazarded by Madame de Sabran, when copious libations of champagne had rendered her insensible to decorum; but he chose for his chief favourite, a young lady, Madame d'Averne, with whom he became acquainted during one of the balls at the opera.

Madame d'Averne was the daughter of M. de Brégy, a Councillor of Parliament. At the age of fifteen she married the Marquis d'Averne, and soon after became the mistress of the Duke of Orleans. She took up her residence at Saint Cloud, where she was soon surrounded by poets, artists, and wits. Voltaire enrolled himself among her flatterers, and addressed adulatory odes to the "Fairy of St. Cloud," the presiding

fail to produce a violent quarrel. I, therefore, entreat your eminence to let me know if this report has any foundation."

To this Dubois replied:

"MONSEIGNEUR,—The lady who came to Versailles has been asked to discontinue her visits; this is the foundation of the reports which have reached the ears of your serene highness; but I assure you that they are altogether groundless, and that you may set your mind perfectly at ease about the evil consequences of this imaginary intrigue. Everything goes on as smoothly and properly as you could desire, and I hope that a friendship so proper and so reasonable will receive no interruption, in spite of the efforts of those who are anxious that it should be broken."

genius of the palace of pleasure. She was displaced for Mademoiselle Charolais, but this intrigue was cut short by the threatened resentment of the Duc de Bourbon, as we have already mentioned. A young Circassian then became the "Light of his Harem," but her reign was brief, and for some months the post of mistress in chief remained vacant.

The effects of dissipation soon appeared; the duke lost his rest and his appetite; his face became of a dark purple hue, with blotches of red, which excited alarm among his friends and physicians. It was observed by the secretaries of state that he was utterly unfit for business in the morning, being so stupified as scarcely to recognise their persons, much less attend to their communications. Chirac, his physician, warned him of the danger he courted, and recommended greater temperance and moderation, declaring that otherwise apoplexy was inevitable. The duke was aware of the danger, but continued his extravagant indulgences, and reasoned with cool scepticism on the causes of life and death, and on the void of the tomb.

Saint Simon having visited the duke one morning, was much alarmed at the lethargic state in which he found him. He knew that advice and remonstrances would be useless, and he went home in despair. He communicated his fears to the Bishop of Frejus, and pointed out the necessity of determining who should succeed Philip of Orleans as prime minister. The finances still remained in a state of great confusion, and, if we are to believe Voltaire, the Duke of Orleans had

resolved to invite Law to return and renew once more the experiment of paper money. The Duc de Bourbon was believed to have the same design, and it was to prevent his being appointed prime minister, in case of a vacancy that Saint Simon held secret consultations with the Bishop of Frejus.

The last mistress of the Duke of Orleans was the young and beautiful Duchess of Phalaris or Phalaria, descended from the noble family of the Harancourts, in Dauphiné. Her husband was the son of a farmer-general, named Gorgé, who had been ennobled by Pope Clement XI., for his successful negotiation of some important loans. She was only nineteen, and the Duke of Orleans was forty-nine; but notwithstanding this disparity of age she consented to abandon her husband and family, and to become his avowed mistress. None of his previous favourites had loved him so sincerely. She preferred his conversation to all the pleasures of the Court, she spent entire days in his cabinet when he was engaged with his ministerial duties, and accompanied him in the evening when he retired to his sybarite seclusion at St. Cloud.

The winter of 1723 was one of great severity. The health of the Duke of Orleans had grown very feeble during the autumn, and, according to some authorities, he had an apoplectic fit in September. Chirac visited him frequently during November, and on the 29th of that month was so much alarmed by the symptoms he observed as to require him to submit to immediate bleeding. The duke replied, "Not yet,—not yet, my

dear Chirac; I have not time to put myself into your hands to-day; but on Monday, my dear doctor,—on Monday, my dear doctor,—on Monday, I shall be at your service."

On Monday, the 2nd of December, Chirac again presented himself; but the epicurean prince insisted on further delay. "Wait until to-morrow, my good doctor; I wish to enjoy my dinner to-day, and I have to attend the King on important public affairs in the evening." Chirac remonstrated in his usual harsh and unconciliating manner; but this only served to confirm Philip of Orleans in his resolution. He dismissed Chirac, declaring that he had more confidence in his cook than in his physician; and, as if to give force to this bravado, indulged on that day more freely in the pleasures of the table than he had done for months before.

After dinner he retired into a saloon, which he had recently furnished most sumptuously for the Duchess of Phalaris, to have some conversation with his beautiful mistress before waiting on the King. A private staircase led from this saloon to the door of the King's closet, and the duke sent his secretary round by the public gallery to meet him at this door when the hour of audience arrived. On entering the apartment, he found the duchess preparing for a ball, her curling locks hanging loose on her shoulders, and her dressing-gown not laid aside. He sat down upon a sofa, and she, taking a low stool, placed herself at his feet, her head reposing upon his knees. After a short pause he

said to her, "My fair friend, I am quite worn out with fatigue this evening, and have a stupifying head-ache; tell me one of those lively stories which you relate so well." The young lady, looking up into his face with childish coquetry, and assuming a mocking smile, began with, "There was once upon a time a king and a queen." She had scarcely uttered the words when the duke's head sank suddenly on his breast, and he fell sideways on her shoulder. As he was sometimes accustomed to take a brief nap in this position, the lady for a second or two felt no alarm; but when she saw his limbs grow stiff, after quivering with convulsion, she sprang to the bell, and rang it violently. No one replied. She rushed into the outer apartments; they were deserted; and it was not until she reached the court-yard that her cries attracted the attention of a few domestics. Chance had so arranged that the accident occurred at a time when everybody was either occupied or out visiting. It was more than half an hour before any medical man made his appearance, and by that time the duke was quite dead. The body was laid on the carpet, and some attempts were made at bleeding; but they proved ineffectual. Expresses were sent to Paris, and the fatal event was communicated to the King.

La Vrillière was one of the first who heard the tidings; he immediately sent off an express to the Duc de Bourbon, and communicated the fact himself to the Bishop of Frejus, with whom he formed a plan for raising this prince to the vacant premiership. No time

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was lost; before the duke could arrive from Paris, La Vrillière had prepared the proper patent, and procured a copy of the oath taken by the late Duke of Orleans. When Bourbon arrived he was introduced into the Royal cabinet, where he found the King overwhelmed with grief. On his entrance the Bishop of Frejus made some efforts to console his Majesty; and after pronouncing an elaborate eulogium on the late Duke of Orleans, he suggested that the King could not do better than request the Duc de Bourbon to accept the vacant office of prime minister,—an office not unworthy a Prince of the Blood. Louis XV. was too agitated to speak, but he bowed his head in token of assent. La Vrillière then said that, as he happened accidentally to have a copy of the oath of office in his pocket, it might be advisable to administer it immediately. Again the King nodded assent. The patent was signed and the oath taken; and thus a few hours sufficed to transfer the supreme power of France from the House of Orleans to the House of Condé.

The death of the Duke of Orleans received more sympathy from foreign nations than from France.*

* The lampoons by which Philip of Orleans was pursued through life did not cease at his death. We quote a few which appeared immediately after that event.

"Here lies the prince who held his God in scorn,
And whom his God now mocks at in return,
Whose ready wit, and captivating smile,
Pretended mildness, and seductive wile,
Cajoled the French to grant him as his spoil,
Fruits of their care and profits of their toil,

The devotees regarded it as a judgement from Heaven, caused by his profligate life, and by the influence of his libertine example; the Parliament openly rejoiced at being delivered from a ruler who had craftily used and

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Which he insultingly, with wanton haste,
Spent in debauchery and luxurious waste.
A surfeit caused his death; his stomach led,
As in a hog, at once his heart and head.
"Behold!" it cried, "such feast as you desire;—
Go wallow in it as a hog in mire."
The glutton did so, till, swell'd like a ton,
He burst, as 'twere an overloaded gun.
Some blasphemy still trembled on his tongue,
Some impious jest upon his lips still hung.
Hold him fast, Satan, he is now thine own:
O let him be a pillar of thy throne.
What happiness might France and Frenchmen know,
If this had happened just eight years ago!"

"Philip of Orleans lies here,
Who for eight tedious years,
Filled coward Frenchmen's hearts with fear,
Their eyes with scalding tears.
Gods! how he scourged the crawling slaves
Condemn'd to bootless toil,
While his good friends, those English knaves,
Monopolised the spoil."

"To three divinities my life was given,
And quite unknown was all the rest of heaven.
Bacchus for me pour'd forth his richest wines,
Plutus bestow'd the treasures of his mines;
More genial influence Venus shed around me,
Whose brightest beauties with her fetters bound me."

Upon the tomb of Madame was scrawled, "Here lies Idleness: for when she gave birth to Philip of Orleans, she became the mother of all the vices."

then ungratefully spurned their authority; and the crowd of courtiers to whom he had been most lavish in promises, and most slow in performances, openly testified their joy at receiving a new master.

The Duke's funeral was as carelessly conducted as that of Louis XIV. No sincere mourner appears to have been present; the ceremonial was as cold as it could possibly be; and the Bishop of Angers, who delivered the funeral oration, did not venture to bestow any eulogy upon the deceased.

It has been well observed, that the Duke of Orleans united in himself the types of two great dramatic creations, Faust and Don Juan,—the German philosopher and the Spanish sensualist. His religious scepticism was accompanied by a craving curiosity which rendered him credulous in the promises of alchymy, divination, and the various quackeries which charlatans substitute for the physical sciences. His belief in these delusions was unbounded; he often neglected affairs of State to seek to unfold the secret of the transmutation of metals, or the philosopher's stone. His sensuality, like that of Don Juan, was perfectly selfish; neither passion nor affection mingled with his criminal indulgences,—he laid aside his mistresses to court younger favourites with just as little feeling as a child exchanges an old toy for a new one. The apoplexy which struck him down in the midst of his guilty pleasures, bears no slight analogy to the statue of the commander embracing Don Juan, and dragging him down to destruction.

As a statesman the Duke of Orleans was hesitating rather than timid; he shrank from violence in his administrative acts; but when his mind was made up, no scruple was allowed to check his course. He cherished sentiments of liberty and habits of absolutism—he spoke with admiration of English institutions, and the independence of the British people; while he concentrated in the hands of Dubois all the despotic power that could possibly be exercised by a minister. He praised the free discussions of the English Parliament, and exiled the Parliaments of Paris on the slightest appearance of resistance to his absolute will.

His fidelity to Louis XV., and the care he took of the feeble childhood of that young Monarch, is certainly the noblest trait in his character. Calumny every where imputed to him the design of usurping the throne, and even his friends believed that such a project had more than once formed the subject of deliberation between him and Dubois,—a suspicion which is strongly confirmed by the efforts of both, to exclude the Spanish line of the Bourbons from the succession. He may have calculated that the life of a frail and sickly child would not be long protracted; and there is something like evidence of a design to secure the chances of succession by betrothing the King to an infant, and thus postponing to a distant period the chances of his having a direct heir to the crown. He was well aware of the passionate attachment the people of France had formed for Louis XV.; and that, had he been removed by forcible or even suspicious means, the entire nation

would have revolted against the dynasty of the House of Orleans.

Philip of Orleans was, as we have seen, a faithless husband. He had been coerced into marriage by the imperious will of Louis XIV., and had with difficulty covered his infidelities to the monarch's daughter with a decent veil of secrecy during that King's life. But no sooner had Louis XIV. breathed his last than all restraint was laid aside, and his gallantries were ostentatiously made public, as if in defiance of public opinion. The duchess made no effort to restrain her husband; she felt too indignant at his conduct to her brother, the Duke of Maine, to feel or feign affection for him, and so long as her pension was regularly paid and all proper forms of outward respect preserved, she scarcely inquired what object had gained his affections. For a short time she had hoped that, as wife of the Regent, she might be allowed to act the part of Queen of France;* but when she found that the Regent would admit no one to share his power, she remained quite contented, feeling assured that he would not allow a mistress to reign in her stead. During the later years of his life Philip of Orleans only saw his wife in public, and, as his visits were merely ceremonial, they were generally of brief duration.

We have given at some length the history of the duke's eldest and favourite daughter, the Duchess de

* "She seeks not the heart of my son, but a share of his power. She is always afraid that some one may govern in her stead."—*Mémoires de Madame*, &c.

Berri. It will not be necessary to dilate on the lives of any of the rest. Mademoiselle de Chartres, the Regent's second daughter, is said to have exhibited rather too passionate an attachment for Couchereau, a celebrated opera-singer, and her mother, alarmed at the danger, resolved to place her in a convent. Madame, however, declares in her Memoires that a monastic life was chosen by the young lady herself, and that every possible effort was made by both her parents to dissuade her from taking the vows. She subsequently became Abbess of Chelles, and indulged in manly sports and exercises not very consistent with her sacred vocation. St. Simon says of her, "Sometimes austere to excess, sometimes retaining nothing of the nun but the dress; studying by fits and starts, music, surgery, theology, and natural science, or devoting her time to the direction of the consciences of the inmates of her abbey; and all this without sequence or order, but still with abundance of wit and intelligence. Always fatigued and disgusted with each of her different pursuits, and incapable of perseverance in any, she soon became weary of her place at Chelles. Finally she obtained permission to resign, and to have one of her favourites nominated to the vacant situation, a place, however, which she did not long retain. The abbess then retired to a beautiful set of apartments in the Benedictine convent of the Madeleine de Fresnel. Here she spent a life marked with strange eccentricities, but not sullied by any flagrant immorality, always boasting that she was the happiest of the family.

Mademoiselle de Valois, the third daughter of the Regent, had an intrigue with the handsome Duc de Richelieu,* which gave rise to considerable scandal. Madame, whose German pride was severely wounded, sent word to the Duc de Richelieu, that if he came near any place where she and her grand-daughter resided, he would run serious risk of his life. The Regent adopted a more stringent course. He sent the Duc de Richelieu to the Bastille, as a sharer in the conspiracy of Cellamare, and commanded the princess to accept the hand of the Duke de Modena. She consented to the match, but made the liberation of her lover a condition. The Regent consented, so soon as the marriage, by proxy, was completed; but the lady shewed no anxiety to fulfil her part of the engagement. She tarried so long in France, that the Duke of Modena threatened to apply for a divorce. The Regent had to go to his daughter, who was making at her leisure, a tour through Provence, and to exert all his influence to induce her to embark at Antibes. Her reluctance must in some degree be attributed to the influence of her aunt, the Grand-Duchess of Tuscany,

* "The Duc de Richelieu, the Abbé de Zinzendorf, and Count Vesterloo, were persuaded by a charlatan that he could introduce them to the devil, and obtain for each any special gift he desired. Richelieu said that he wished to be enabled to win the hearts of princes, as he was already sure of the hearts of ladies. The place chosen for the evocation of Satan was a quarry near Vienna, whither the three noblemen proceeded one night in company with the mountebank. The spells were tried, and of course failed, upon which the three, enraged at being duped, drew their swords and slew the impostor.

who said to her immediately after the marriage, "Go, child, and remember to follow my example; have one or two children, and then act in such a way as will compel your husband to send you back to France, this is the only country suited to ladies like us."

The Count de Salvatico, who was sent by the Duke of Modena to escort the bride, fell in love with her on the road, and even ventured openly to declare his passion.* She liked her husband better than she had expected; but she found that he possessed his full share of Italian jealousy, for when the Duc de Richelieu visited Italy, he received a very broad hint that it would not be quite safe for him to visit the Court of Modena. In the end the duchess followed the advice of her aunt, and having been separated from her husband, came to end her days amid the luxuries and pleasures of Paris.

Mademoiselle de Montpensier, the youngest daughter of the Regent, was little more than a child when she was married to the Prince of Asturias. He too was very young, and as he was also in ill health, it was agreed that the wedded pair should not be allowed to live together the first year. The etiquette of the age, however, required that a couple should be seen bedded before the marriage could be duly verified, but as this

* Madame considered this a very great piece of good luck; she records in her Memoires, that her granddaughter need not fear Salvatico's repeating any of the scandalous reports circulated against her in France, as she could reply that they were mere inventions devised by the spite of a disappointed lover.

was inconsistent with Spanish notions, it was no easy matter to effect such an arrangement as would satisfy all parties. It was finally arranged that the boy and girl should be placed in the same bed, while the prince's governor, the Duc de Popoli, stood within one curtain, and the princess's *gouvernante*, the Duchess de Monteillano occupied a similar place inside the opposite curtain.* The lower curtains of the bed were then drawn open, and the principal nobles of Spain, the French ambassador and his suite, with several others, passed through the apartment. This lasted about half an hour, when the doors were closed, and the prince and princess removed by their attendants to separate chambers.

From the first day of her arrival at Madrid, the Princess of the Asturias exhibited a sour and sullen disposition, and a pertinacious resistance to the cumbrous forms of the Spanish ceremonial. It was almost necessary to have recourse to actual violence before she could be induced to pay her respects to the King and Queen. Splendid preparations had been made for a State ball, which their Catholic Majesties intended to give in honour of her marriage; but she refused to attend it, and would assign no other reason than her own caprice. She thoroughly detested the Queen, Philip's second wife; and in this feeling she was sup-

* A similar arrangement took place in Ireland during the last century, when the heir of the King family was married to the heiress of the Fitzgeralds, both being under age. From this union the Earls of Kingston and Lorton are descended.

ported by the whole Spanish nation, who followed her majesty whenever she appeared, with shouts, in honour of her predecessor.*

Soon after the princess had been permitted to live with her husband, all Europe was astounded by the intelligence that Philip V. had resolved to abdicate the throne in favour of his eldest son, the Prince of Asturias. On the 10th of January he sent a message to the Council of Castille, in which he announced "That he had resolved to withdraw altogether from the affairs of government, abdicating the possession of all his States, Kingdoms, and Royalties, in favour of his son, Don Louis, Prince of the Asturias, to lead a private life at St. Ildefonso, in company with his Queen, who had, of her own accord and with free will and pleasure, consented to retire with him, that, disembarrassed from every other care, he might give himself up to the service of God, meditate on a future state, and attend to the important work of his own eternal salvation."

Religion, or rather superstition, had such influence over the feeble mind of Philip V., that there is no very valid reason to doubt of his sincerity in the motives he assigned for his abdication. His extreme devotion was accompanied by a profound and constant melancholy, which led him to believe that it was almost impossible for any human being to escape eternal torments. Even while contending for the Spanish Crown during the Wars of the Succession, he had been beset by anxious scruples arising out of the renunciations of

* *Viva el rey y la Savoiana.*

his grandmother, and often said that his claims were invalidated by perjury. But other motives doubtless actuated him. It was reported that Louis XV. was dying; and his health, indeed, had rapidly declined ever since the death of the Duke of Orleans, so that his dissolution was daily expected. Philip, perhaps, hoped that by his abdication he would annul the renunciations he had made at the Treaty of Utrecht, and recover his right of succession to the throne of France.

The new King, Louis, late Prince of the Asturias, was stern, silent, and morose. It was almost as difficult to get a few words from him as from his cousin, the King of France; but the Spanish people loved him because he had been born in Spain, because he was not the son of Philip's second Queen; because he detested the Italians, the French, and all other foreigners; and because he was thoroughly imbued with Spanish prejudices and superstitions.

The aversion of Louis for foreigners extended to his young Queen; but, as the Duc de Bourbon, from the time of his becoming prime minister, had exhibited the most ungrateful hatred to the family and friends of the late Duke of Orleans, neither he nor the French ambassador, Tessé, paid the slightest attention to her mortifications. But these, indeed, were well merited. Voltaire, writing to a lady, *La présidente de Bernieres*, thus describes the Queen's conduct:—

"Forges, July 20th, 1724.

"MADAME,

"I SINCERELY hope that you have as yet heard nothing of the news from Spain, in order that I may have the pleasure of relating them to you. The new King of Spain has shut up Madame his spouse, daughter of the late Duke of Orleans, who, in spite of her pointed nose and long face, was not slow in imitating the noble examples of those worthy ladies, her sisters.* .... They have broken up her entire household, and have given her, in the castle in which she is confined, only one impertinent old prude for her lady in waiting. I have been assured, that when the poor young Queen found herself shut up with this horrid duenna, she took, the courageous resolution of throwing herself out of the window, and that she would have succeeded had not assistance arrived immediately."

The Queen was arrested in her carriage as she returned from her evening promenade. She was imprisoned in the alcazar, and very closely guarded; and a circular was addressed to all the foreign ministers, explaining the circumstances. But the detention of the young Queen, who had not yet attained her fifteenth year, did not last long. Louis, after having dismissed seventeen of her attendants, received her again into his

* We have mentioned in a preceding chapter that the profligate Duchess de Berri had endeavoured to win the friendship of young Arouet, and had invited him to share in her orgies. Arouet (Voltaire) did not, however, abandon the Duchess de Maine.

palace of Buen Retiro. He kept, however, a strict watch on her conduct, and was said to have taken some steps to obtain a divorce, a measure to which he was strongly urged by the Jesuits, who had never forgiven the hostility evinced to their party by her father at the commencement of the Regency. Before these intrigues could be brought to maturity, the King was attacked by a mortal disease. On the 19th of August he was seized with small-pox in its most virulent form. In spite of her giddiness and resentment, the young Queen attended on him with the greatest affection, until she was herself laid prostrate by the same contagious disease. The King died on the 31st of August. The recovery of the Queen was slow; indeed it may be said that she never regained her former robust health.

A little before his death, Louis made a will, in which he declared his father his heir, and exhorted him to resume the Crown. By the act of abdication, however, the succession was secured to Ferdinand, the brother of Louis, and like him a son of the Princess of Savoy; and as he was only a boy of ten years of age, a Council of Regency had been nominated in anticipation of the contingency. All the Court of the young King, well aware that during their brief tenure of power, they had mortally offended Philip and his Queen, shewed the greatest alarm at the prospect of his resuming the Crown; and the Spanish nation generally, persisting in its hatred to foreigners, and especially the Italian faction, openly avowed its preference for a Regency. The Jesuit, Bermudez, the King's confessor, whether ani-

mated by this national hatred, or actuated by real scruples of conscience, persisted in declaring that an abdication made for the purpose of devoting himself to the service of God, was an indissoluble vow which bound Philip to heaven. During five days Philip wavered between the scruples of casuists and the urgent entreaties of his wife, who was anxious once more to reascend the throne. At length the efforts of the French ambassador, the Marshal de Tessé, and of the papal nuncio Cardinal Aldobrandini, triumphed over the scruples of the casuists and the vows and intrigues of the Council of Castille. Four doctors of theology gave it as their opinion that Philip was bound to resume the sceptre, under pain of mortal sin; he yielded to their decision, and on the 5th of September signed an ordinance by which he declared himself once more sovereign of Spain and the Indies.

While these intrigues, destined to exercise a decisive influence over her future life, were in progress, the young Queen lay helpless on a bed of sickness, unable to hold any communication with her father-in-law, whose dread of the small-pox led him to forbid the approach of anybody who had been in the same room with the patient. The first intelligence she received on her convalescence was, that it had been resolved to send her back to France. It was not unwelcome news; she shewed herself as anxious to return as the Spaniards were to remove her. Louis XV. received her honourably, and assigned her a suite of apartments in the Luxembourg. Neither the person, the temper, nor the

habits of the Queen-Dowager of Spain were calculated to render her a favourite at the Court, or popular in Paris. After some efforts to occupy a leading position in the fashionable world, which proved signal failures, she retired into morose solitude, refusing to receive the visits even of her own family. Thus she vegetated rather than lived, until the 15th of June, 1742, when she died, if we are to believe the preacher of her funeral sermon, "after having performed the most exemplary works of piety and charity." Funeral sermons are, however, rather suspicious authorities. Duclos asserts that the Dowager-Queen of Spain was remarkable only for her selfishness and her sullen temper, and that she was more than suspected of sharing the infidel doctrines of her father and her elder sister.

The profligacy of the Duchess de Berri, and the eccentricities of the Abbess de Chelles, attracted more attention to the daughters of the Duke of Orleans than the elevation of the youngest sister to a throne. Unfortunately, their characters were not such as would bear a very rigid scrutiny. The indulgence, and the example of their father had taught them early to despise maternal advice; while, on the other hand, their brother, of whom we shall give some account in the sixth chapter, having previously to record the history of a lady, surrendered himself entirely to the direction of his mother.

CHAPTER V.

CLAUDINE DE TENCIN. — HER BIRTH. — ALTERNATIVE PROPOSED BY HER MOTHER. — M. DE CHANDENNIER. — BRIEF ACCOUNT OF HIS FATHER. — THE FINANCIER AND THE POOR ABBE.—VISIT OF CHANDENNIER TO CLAUDINE. — RUMOURS IN CONSEQUENCE.—CLAUDINE GOES TO A NUNNERY. —CHANDENNIER'S VENGEANCE. — CLAUDINE AT MONTFLEURY. — HER POPULARITY. — THE ARCHBISHOP LECANUS.—HIS INDULGENCES. — ECLOGUES OF FONTENELLE.—THEIR EFFECT AT MONTFLEURY. — THE PASTORAL FETE AT MONTFLEURY. — M. DESTARCHES. — CLAUDINE AND D'ALEMBERT, HER SON. — SHE SETS OUT FOR PARIS. — HER INTIMACY WITH THE REGENT ORLEANS.—THE FEMALE PLATO.—THE ABBE TENACIN. —M. LAFRESNAYE.—HIS ATTEMPTED REVENGE.—ITS RESULT.—CLAUDINE AN AUTHORESS. — HER POLITICAL INTRIGUES. — HER CONNEXION WITH THE DUC DE RICHELIEU. — HER PATRONAGE OF AUTHORS. — HER PARTICULAR TREATMENT OF THEM. — MARMONTEL. — CLAUDINE AND HER SON.—HER DEATH.—CHARACTERISTIC SORROW OF FONTENELLE.

AMONG the many mistresses of the Regent there was none whose career was so extraordinary, and the incidents of whose life were so characteristic of the age as those of Claudine de Tencin. For both reasons we have resolved to devote a chapter to her history.

In the last years of Louis XIV., when the hypocritical piety of Madame de Maintenon had rendered devotion fashionable, and had restored to the *Tartuffes* the influence of which they had been deprived by the satire of Moliere, there resided in a dilapidated château near Grenoble, a family named Guerin, which, in spite of straitened circumstances, maintained all its pretensions to gentility, and took the title of De Tencin,

from the moderate estate on which they vegetated rather than lived. The family consisted of a widowed mother, two sons, and four daughters, two of whom were marriageable. The eldest son obtained a diplomatic situation; the eldest daughter married a rich financier; the second son, called the Abbé de Tencin, was destined to enter the Church; and the second daughter, Claudine de Tencin, was warned by her mother to procure a husband within twelve months, or to prepare herself for a convent.

Claudine, though pretty, was poor, and dowries were as great objects of consideration in Grenoble as in Paris: moreover, she had a decided taste for contradiction and repartee, so that she was called Mademoiselle *Nenni* throughout the country, from her habit of always replying in the negative. Her brother the abbé was notorious for assenting to everybody, and was in consequence, admitted to every table where flattery would pass as current coin in payment for food. Notwithstanding this difference of disposition, the brother and sister were warmly attached to each other, and had vowed to share any benefits which fortune might have in store for them. Both had boundless ambition: the abbé aspired to the highest dignities of the Church; Claudine more vaguely fixed her hopes on acquiring political influence, either as a wife or a mistress.

The alternative presented by the mother alarmed Claudine: she represented its injustice, if she was to remain in the country, where no eligible partner was likely to appear. Madame yielded to this reasoning,

and removed for a season to Grenoble, where Claudine was presented to fashionable society, in a robe made from her mother's well-preserved wedding-gown. At her first ball she captivated M. de Chandennier, a young man of good family and tolerable fortune. He was the cousin of the Marquis de Chandennier, of the ancient House of Rochechouart, whose obstinate resistance to Cardinal Mazarin, and voluntary exile from Court, are now almost forgotten, though they were deemed the most extraordinary instances of personal independence under the despotic reign of Louis XIV.

The marquis had been the first captain of the household troops and was highly respected for his valour, talents, and singular probity. These qualities did not suit Mazarin; he wished to have a more flexible officer, who would implicitly obey his commands, without inquiring too nicely into the morality or legality of his injunctions. Mazarin commanded Chandennier to sell his commission to M. de Noailles, who, without waiting for the marquis's consent, assumed at once the functions of his post. Chandennier refused to send in his resignation, or to accept the purchase-money; upon which he was arrested and imprisoned in the castle of Loches, where, as he was known to be poor, it was hoped that he might be starved into submission. The marquis, however, lived contentedly on the prison allowance, receiving, however, occasional presents of better provisions from the inhabitants of Loches, who honoured his spirit, and detested the cardinal. Two years elapsed, during

which the prisoner made no complaint, and offered no sign of submission. At length the Court, ashamed of its own violence, granted him his freedom, but at the same time banished him from Paris. It was notified to him that the price of his commission was ready to be paid whenever he chose to accept it, and that, so soon as he signed a receipt for the money, he would be restored to royal favour. Chandennier was as obstinate in exile as he had been in prison; it was hoped that leniency would have a better effect than severity, and he was permitted to return to Paris. Still unsubdued, he went to reside in a small cottage near Sainte Genevieve, and gave himself up to devotion. This suggested the last attempt to overcome his obstinacy. His confessor was induced to represent to him that, in justice to his creditors, he ought to accept the purchase-money of his commission, and apply it to the payment of his debts. Chandennier so far yielded, as to have an interview with the younger Noailles, who had succeeded to the disputed post on the death of his father; but no agreement could be arrived at, and to the last hour of his life, the Marquis de Chandennier retained his titular rank as first captain of the Royal guards.

M. de Chandennier, the hero of the ball at Grenoble, was said to have inherited his cousin's noble qualities—the marquis, indeed, had nothing else to bequeath, and he was preparing to visit Paris in search of fortune when he was caught by the fair form and lively wit of Claudine de Tencin. He at first meditated nothing

more than a little flirtation with the rustic beauty, whom he hoped to dazzle and overawe by his superior knowledge of the world; but he soon found that he was beaten at his own weapons. Long before the ball had concluded, Chandennier had abandoned all his plans of a wealthy marriage, for love and a cottage with the beauty of Grenoble. At the conclusion of the ball, as Claudine and her mother were about to return home in their modest carriage, the gallant lover offered the services of his footmen to light them with flambeax to the gates of the city. Claudine yielded to her natural instinct, and without any reflection replied—"No, sir, we thank you, our servant knows the way."

This unexpected repulse discouraged the lover, but he sought to gain the favour of her brother, and he invited the abbé to a supper, where the most fashionable young men of Grenoble were assembled.

Among the guests was a young financier, of more wealth than wit. Enraged at finding himself eclipsed in conversation by a poor abbé, he began to mock the mean dress and poverty of Tencin. The abbé defended himself with so much wit, that the rest of the company ranged themselves on his side; and when, with a triumphant joke, he asked the financier to lend him five hundred pistoles on his note of hand, all present insisted that the wealthy blockhead should comply, under pain of personal chastisement. On the following morning, Claudine received a letter from her brother, enclosing half the sum he had so strangely gained, declaring that with the rest he would go to Paris in

search of fortune, and advising her to lose no time in coming to an arrangement with her suitor.

Claudine had already repented her refusal of her lover's proffered politeness; she had even gone the length of inviting him to pay her a visit, whenever his taste led him to make a rural excursion. Five or six days after the ball, it was announced that a brilliant band of cavaliers was approaching the dilapidated castle of the Tencins; and all the preparations usually adopted by pride to hide poverty, were hastily made for their reception. A ploughboy, in an old livery, enacted the part of porter, and the farm-servants, unprepared by previous drill, were suddenly transformed into grooms, ushers, footmen, and feudal retainers. Several amusing blunders were made: the porter, dazzled by the dresses of the guests, exhausted himself in mute salutations; the groom was so charmed with M. de Chandennier's horse, that he compelled the gentleman to tell him the price of the animal before he assisted him to dismount; and the footmen, instead of marshalling the way, ran against each other, and knocked their heads together, so that Chandennier in the end entered the saloon without being previously announced.

Claudine and her mother had too much tact to notice the confusion which the polite Chandennier affected not to perceive. The topics of the day were discussed. The Tencins had recently received letters from Spain, which enabled them to amuse their guests with the latest details respecting the disgrace of the

Princess d'Ursins. The visitor was able to elucidate the narrative by relating the scandals circulated in Paris against the Duke of Orleans. Claudine—as if she had some secret foresight of her future destiny—took a lively interest in the anecdotes told of that licentious prince, and was not quite so much shocked as might have been expected from her secluded education.

After some time, it was proposed that the gentleman should visit the gardens, accompanied by Claudine and her two sisters, the elder of whom was only ten years of age. In this promenade the conquest was completed: the mother, who watched from the windows, though she could not hear the conversation, easily learned, from the cavalier's animated gestures, that his heart was won.

Chandennier was an ardent lover: he frequently repeated his visits to the De Tencins, sent them presents of game, but could not be induced to make a formal proposal of marriage. Evil tongues soon began to propagate scandal. At a later period, such attentions might have passed unnoticed; but at this period the piety and prudery of Madame de Maintenon reigned supreme. The ladies of the provinces, aping the manners of Versailles, had three confessors a-piece, read nothing but homilies, and were quite convinced that society was threatened with total ruin by the profane levity of the rising generation. The young men of Grenoble observed that Chandennier seemed to have forgotten the journey to Paris, for which he was at first so eager; his repeated rural excursions gave rise

to suspicion; and with the usual charity of provincial gossip, it was speedily decided that Claudine had fallen a victim to vanity and temptation.

The tale reached the ears of the abbess of the Augustinian nuns at Montfleury, who was distantly related to the family. She came to the castle, and informed Claudine and her mother of the calumnies which had been propagated. While the ladies were discussing this delicate subject, Chandennier made his appearance. Claudine overwhelmed him with reproaches, until he offered to silence scandal by immediately making her his wife. Though this had been the great object of her arts and hopes, she could not resist the waywardness of her temper: she declared that the lover should endure the penance of three months' delay, which she would spend in a convent; and she insisted that the abbess should carry her off to Montfleury within the hour. Remonstrances were in vain. Claudine, however, feeling that she had been a little hasty, informed her lover, that if she had reason to be satisfied with his conduct, she would abridge the period of his penance.

Chandennier's self-love was wounded by such caprice: his friends in Grenoble jested him on having been the dupe of a village coquette. Claudine soon perceived that his attachment was cooling, and, in order to revive it, she pretended to have imbibed a taste for conventual life; and when he spoke to her of his heart, she answered with pious disquisitions on the state of her soul. In imagination she had constructed

a romance, of which she hoped to be the heroine. A true lover in her view, so far from being daunted by obstacles, ought rather to be roused to exertion by every new difficulty. He should be prepared to escalade walls, to burst bars, to storm the cloister, to tear his mistress from the altar, and even if she had pronounced conventual vows—to fly with her to Rome, and wrest a dispensation from the Pope, by dint of tears and supplications. Unfortunately, while poetry and romance led the lady in one direction, prose and reality conducted the gentleman in the very opposite. His ambitious hopes returned: he remembered his resolution to seek for a wealthy wife, and recollected that Claudine had no fortune. He thought that a rustic beauty ought to have been more grateful for the proffer of his purse and person; and he could not comprehend Claudine's high-flown sentimentality. Finally, Chandennier became weary of the romance: he wrote her a letter, in which he shewed that he clearly understood the nature of the farce she was playing, declared that he would no longer be her dupe, and bade her farewell in cold and cutting terms.

Having gratified his self-love in this manner, the gentleman proceeded to Paris, where successful ambition soon healed the pangs of mortified vanity. He obtained high office in the Court, married the daughter of a wealthy financier, and eventually became the minister of Louis XV., with the title of Marquis de Rochechouart.

This rupture grievously disappointed Claudine: she

dreaded to face the reproaches of her mother, and the laughter of the world. To escape both, she loudly proclaimed that she had refused Chandennier, in order to devote herself to heaven. All the pious people in the province declared that they were edified by such a sacrifice. The news reached Paris, and was the theme of conversation in the saloons of Madame de Maintenon; and her profession was made in the presence of all the clergy and nobles of the south of France.

The beautiful nun became the rage; the parlour of the convent was the centre of attraction for all the pious and the fashionable in Grenoble and its vicinity; the devout and the dissipated flocked thither together. The nuns were delighted, and the abbess, who was rather short-sighted, believed that her convent was about to sanctify the whole kingdom.

There were, however, some envious people who thought such scenes not consistent with conventual propriety. They represented the state of the convent to Lecamus, the archbishop of the diocese. One day, when mirth and gallantry were at their highest in the parlour, the door was suddenly thrown open, and the grave prelate stood in the midst of the astonished assembly. The crowd dispersed in an instant. Claudine comprehended the crisis, and stood her ground by the side of the abbess. Before the archbishop could complete a sentence, she said:—

"My lord, I am the only person here deserving censure or punishment. The abbess and nuns treat me as a spoiled child. They think that I, who despised gal-

lantry when I mixed in the giddy circles of fashionable life, can fear no danger when sheltered by the sanctity of these walls. Believe me, holy father, freedom of conversation is far less likely to corrupt the heart than solitude and weariness."

"Who, in the name of wonder, is this little chatterer?" asked the surprised but mollified archbishop.

"I am sister Claudine, my lord, formerly Mademoiselle de Tencin. I received the veil from you some few months ago, though a very wealthy and noble gentleman proffered me his heart and hand."

Lecamus was a better theologian than logician. He quoted the rules of the Order, and several long passages from St. Augustine, to all of which Claudine replied by clever appeals to his feelings, until at length the archbishop compromised the matter, by permitting the nuns to retain their freedom, on condition of giving up their guitars and mandolines, and banishing romances from their library.

Before leaving Montfleury, the archbishop, however, warned Claudine that he would hold her responsible, if any scandalous consequences followed from the liberties he had conceded. She replied,—

"My lord, it would not be just to condemn me for any such result. The demon is artful; should he derive any advantage from your kindness, we will console ourselves with the reflection, that worse results might have followed from anger and severity. Pray for us, that we may not be led into temptation."

Lecamus was quite won over: he left the convent

without pronouncing a word of censure ; and when any of his more austere brethren remonstrated, he replied "We must leave the poor young ladies a little liberty : I know they will not make a bad use of it. There is amongst them a youthful model of innocence and virtue, who has pledged herself for the conduct of the rest."

The worthy archbishop had formed a friendship for Claudine, as warm as his age, dignity, and sacred profession allowed. He visited Montfleury more frequently than any other convent in his diocese ; he shewed a marked preference for the sparkling conversation of his lively favourite ; he sanctioned the amusements she patronised by his presence ; and lightened the penances for slight breaches of conventual discipline at her solicitation. This influence with the archbishop rendered Claudine all-powerful with the sisterhood ;—she was, in fact, allowed the entire direction of the convent.

At this period, "Fontenelle's Eclogues" had spread a passion for the imaginative sentimentalism of pastoral life throughout France. In every rank of life persons were anxious to become shepherds and shepherdesses—to discuss the mysteries of love when they led their flocks to pasture, and to recite pastoral odes under the shade of the wide-spreading beech. Fontenelle himself, happening to come to Grenoble, was introduced at Montfleury, and, with the sanction of the archbishop, he presented a copy of his *pastorals* to the innocent nuns. The delicious poetry turned their brains ; they

regretted the vows which confined them to a cloister, instead of leading their flocks to pasture; and they bought a pet sheep, which they soon crammed to death with sweetmeats.

In the neighbourhood of the convent lived a young landed proprietor, M. Destouches, who was seized with the pastoral mania more strongly than the nuns themselves. He roamed through the fields dressed as a shepherd, reading or reciting favourite passages from Fontenelle; and sometimes his voice penetrated into the convent, and brought a response of poetry from the amiable Claudine. M. Destouches was soon introduced at Montfleury, and became the most favoured visitor of the parlour.

At this crisis, Louis XIV. died, and the profligate follies of the Regency commenced. The relaxation of morals was felt throughout France, and M. Destouches was permitted to give a pastoral *fête*, ending with a display of fireworks, to the nuns of Montfleury, on his own estate. The announcement of this feast produced some excitement in the province: remonstrances were addressed by a few devotees to Archbishop Lecamus, but he could discover no danger in pastorals. His secretary, the Jesuit Bougeaut, was equally unsuspicious; and he has recorded in his correspondence, with great complacency, that the entertainment took place on Easter Monday, 1716. The worthy Father Bougeaut dwells with great unction on the innocent enjoyment of the nuns travestied into shepherdesses; but though he was present, and has left a very amusing

account of the pastoral sports, he has omitted some incidents, which we hasten to supply from other sources.

The repast was served under an arbour of trellis-work, commanding an extensive view of the gardens; a cascade fell into a marble basin at the extremity of the parterre, and the perspective was completed by a grove of linden-trees, ingeniously cut into the form of umbrellas. After the feast, which was attended by negro servants, a rustic quadrille was danced, in which the host took a conspicuous part, and then the company, separating into groups, promenaded through the park, enlivened by a concert of instrumental music. Claudine was the heroine of the entertainment: she and Destouches discussed the mysteries of pastoral and Platonic love until sunset, when the fireworks having engaged general attention, they turned into a shady walk, to indulge their interchange of sentiment more freely. Sentiment soon gave place to warmer emotions; Claudine forgot her habits of negation at the moment they would have been most useful to her—she and M. Destouches became more than poetic lovers, and vowed eternal attachment to each other.

The natural consequences followed—Claudine felt that she was about to become a mother, and she resolved to confide to Archbishop Lecamus the secret of her situation. It is easier to conceive than to describe the surprise and horror of the worthy prelate. But Claudine retained her influence over him. She induced him to inform Fontenelle of the consequences

produced by the influence of his poetry, and to exert himself to procure a dispensation from the pope. Clement XI. was an admirer of Fontenelle; he was also anxious to gain literary support in France, where the controversy respecting the bull *Unigenitus* was then raging. Claudine was named a canoness in the Chapter of Neuville, near Lyons, an office which exonerated her from her vows of poverty and obedience, but left her bound to chastity. After having taken possession of her prebend, Claudine retired to a small village near Grenoble, where, on the 2nd of January, 1717, she gave birth to a son, who received the name of D'Alembert, from a small estate settled on him by his father., It is scarcely necessary to add, that this boy subsequently attained European celebrity as the great mathematician, D'Alembert, one of the most eminent of the Encyclopedist philosophers, and Fontenelle's successor as perpetual secretary to the French Academy. After a short time she received evidence that M. Destouches was a faithless lover, and this, united to some maternal advice which her mother is said to have given shortly before her death, induced the pastoral canoness to set out for Paris, with the determined purpose of captivating the heart of the Regent.

At the time when the Canoness de Tencin set out for Paris, the extravagance of the Regency was at its height. A fever of dissipation had turned every brain: parties of pleasure were blended with parties in politics, and intrigues were conjoined with treason-

able conspiracies. The Regent, to secure leisure for his criminal indulgences, had entrusted the entire administration to Cardinal Dubois; and the cardinal or abbé, as he was at this period—dividing his time between debauchery and the secret police—allowed large arrears of business to accumulate, which he frequently cleared off by burning the despatches without reading them. The sun rose on the unextinguished tapers in the Palais Royal; the Regent's daughter maintained the state of a queen, and the habits of a courtesan in the Luxembourg; the City was as profligate as the Court. Songs, suppers, and assignations made the entire sum of life. The re-action against the hypocritical severity of Madame de Maintenon's *régime* was greater than that which took place in England when the profligacy of the Restoration superseded the stern reign of Puritanism. Every one lived in the midst of excitement; nothing like quiet or repose could be found in the Court or the country.

Her brother, the abbé, who had already made some progress in life, introduced Claudine to his friends. Fontenelle, who had been interested in her past history, and had some hope of winning her favour, laboured to bring her into fashion. She was introduced to Law just as the Regent was about to place that celebrated Scotchman at the head of the finances, and it was at her instigation that Law consented to embrace the Catholic religion, and to ascribe the honour of his conversion to her brother, the Abbé de Tencin. She was soon invited to the brilliant assemblies at the

Palais Royal, and after several failures, at length succeeded in attracting the attention of the Regent. He had paid her but little attention when she was first introduced at Court, and only noticed her when his friends, casually discussing the beauties of a Court-ball, awarded the preference to Madame de Tencin. He declared his passion, and was not allowed to languish in doubt. Fontenelle, who half-persuaded himself that he was in love with Claudine, visited her one morning; the carriage was at the door, and the lady dressed in her most alluring style. He spoke of love, and was ridiculed; he asked to be her companion in her drive, and was rejected. As she had shewn him some attention the day before, he was both surprised and displeased; but the mystery was explained when he heard her command to the coachman.

"Drive to the Palais Royal, and set me down at the private entrance."

The Regent, at first, exhibited greater steadiness of attachment to Claudine than he had ever manifested to any of his former mistresses. She believed that her fortune was fixed, when Orleans publicly installed her as his mistress, and she hoped to acquire the same influence in the State as a Montespan or a Maintenon. She did not know the Regent: as inconstant as he was profligate, he parted from a mistress with as little scruple as he changed his coat; and trained to form the most contemptuous opinion of the fair sex, he dreaded nothing on earth so much as a female politician. Claudine hoped to overcome his inveterate

indolence—to induce him to take an active part in the affairs of State, and to convert her boudoir into a ministerial saloon.

One day when the Regent visited her at her toilette, she reproached him with indolence, his disregard for glory, and his neglect of the duties of his station. Orleans in vain endeavoured to turn her from the subject by witty replies; but at length worn out, he ordered his servants to throw open the doors, and to admit the entire circle of his profligate companions. Claudine, half-dressed, hid herself behind a screen, but the Regent threw down the screen, and sarcastically introduced her to his companions as "a female Plato, peculiarly suited to become a professor in the university, or the tutor of any ambitious youth who wished to combine love with politics and sentimentality with statistics, adding, that he had already received enough of her lessons, and would recommend her to seek another pupil."

Claudine, though bitterly mortified, lost neither her wit nor her presence of mind. Assuming a high tone, she sternly reproved the Regent for the gross insult he had offered her, and declared that vice had become so congenial to him, as to render him intolerant of the presence of any virtue. Then, having made a formal reverence to the company, she retired with as much composure as if she had been a spectator, not an actor in the scene. On the stairs she met Dubois, the Regent's powerful favourite, to whom she briefly related what had just happened. Dubois at once pro-

posed to her to take revenge by becoming his mistress, assuring her that he would enable her to govern France in spite of the Regent. The bargain was soon concluded; Claudine placed herself under the protection of Dubois, and was permitted to enjoy a large share of the ministerial authority. Her first care was to provide for her brother. He was entrusted with the delicate mission of procuring a cardinal's hat for the impious and profligate Dubois, and his success was rewarded by the rich Archbishopric of Embrun, which luckily fell vacant only a few days before the death of his patron.

Among those who sought to win the favour of Claudine was a councillor of the Royal Court, named Lafresnaye, who spared no expense to gain her affections. Although she gave him no encouragement, he continued his exertions until he had exhausted all his fortune, and he then presented himself to her with the strange demand that she should consent to share his poverty as his mistress. On her refusal, he projected a terrible revenge. Presenting himself to her one evening when she was alone, he repeated his demand, and, on her refusal, fired a pistol into his breast. The servants rushed into the room at the sound of the report, and the dying man declared that he had been assassinated by Claudine. On this charge she was sent to the Bastille, and detained a prisoner for several weeks. Her innocence, however, was generally recognised, and she was discharged without having been subjected to the disgrace of a trial. Fontenelle made great exertions

to obtain Claudine's liberation : in fact, he was himself interested in the charge, for the suicide stated, as the chief cause of her hatred, that he had surprised her with the philosopher some months before. This was strenuously denied both by Fontenelle and the lady, and it is not a very probable tale. Fontenelle was at this time in his sixty-ninth year, and was one of the most querelous hypochondriacs of the age.

After the death of Dubois, Madame de Tencin devoted all her energies to securing the promotion of her brother. She took an active part in the Jansenist controversy, and wrote several pamphlets in defence of the Papal supremacy over the Gallican church, while her brother, under her directions, exercised all his influence as Archbishop of Embrun to crush the prelates who resisted the claims of Rome. For these services he was rewarded with a cardinal's hat, and the Archbishopric of Lyons. Cardinal Fleury was compelled by the Pope to admit him into the cabinet ; but he took good care to allow the Tencins no real share in the administration.

Such a situation suited not the inclinations of the Cardinal de Tencin, or his sister. Claudine had resolved that her brother should be premier, and was bitterly mortified to find that, after Fleury's death, he was passed over for Maurepas, Argeson, and Ancelot. She sought for an ally in a new lover, and fixed her choice on the celebrated Duc de Richelieu. This nobleman was then in his thirtieth year, and was equally famous for his gallantries and his valour. Madame de

Polignac and Madame de Nesle had fought a duel on his account with pistols in the Bois de Boulogne; and, as Voltaire said, "it was deemed an honour to be dishonoured by him." Richelieu was attracted to Claudine more by her political abilities than by her personal charms. Ambition was with them a more powerful bond of union than love, and their intrigues against the successive ministers of Louis XV. would furnish materials for a volume. More than ten times power eluded their grasp when success seemed most certain, until at length Claudine resolved to abandon political life, which she did with the same suddenness of decision and inflexible firmness which she displayed in entering and quitting the convent, and in breaking off her connexion with the Regent. Richelieu and his mistress parted on the most friendly terms. Her farewell was given in the significant words, "We have lost the power of being useful to each other."

Great was the astonishment of Paris when Madame de Tencin appeared before the world as an authoress. She published four romances, of which "The Pains of Love" is the most remarkable, since it describes her own feelings in early life. No one has depicted, with equal power, the effects of conventual seclusion on a sensitive mind, and the severe struggles of a heart divided between the emotions of love and the sentiments of devotion. From the moment of her first appearance in print, Madame de Tencin's saloons became the rendezvous of the leading philosophers and writers of the age. Montesquieu, Fontenelle, Marian,

Astruc, Helvetius, and many others, were her daily guests; she applied all her energies to extend their fame and the circulation of their works, with the same ardent boldness which she had previously displayed in more questionable pursuits. "The Spirit of Laws" appeared under her patronage; she purchased two hundred copies of the work to distribute among her acquaintances; and as no one was admitted to her saloons who had not studied the works she patronised, her recommendations had all the force of the despotic edicts of fashion. Several other ladies followed her example, and for some time the patronage of literature became almost the rage in Paris; but no saloons ever rivalled those of Madame de Tencin, because nowhere else was so much discrimination shewn in the selection of guests.

An invitation to Madame de Tencin's suppers soon became an object of ambition in Paris. Literary merit was the only passport to these assemblies; rank and fortune were of no avail when this great requisite was wanting. She called the wits gathered round her "the beasts of her menagerie," and compelled them to submit to her whims and caprices. One of these was very singular. She presented each of her favourites annually with a breeches of black velvet, and insisted that it should be worn as her livery in the evening assemblies. Proud as M. de Montesquieu was, he had to receive this strange boon like the rest. The "Gazette de France" avers that more than eight thousand yards of velvet had been thus used by the amiable canoness.

She was the first who introduced Marmontel into public life, and her patronage was of great service to him in his early struggles. "Madame de Tencin," says he, "made me recite the history of my childhood; she entered into all my interests, sympathised with my vexations, reasoned with me on my hopes and prospects, and seemed to have nothing in her head but my well-being." He was not very grateful for such kindness, which he unjustly attributed to a spirit of coquetry, rather than to generosity.

Cold and selfish as Fontenelle was, he evinced a strong attachment to Madame de Tencin, never forgetting the dangers into which she had been led by the study of his "Pastorals." On the other hand, though she shewed warm friendship for the philosopher, she never would permit him to speak of a more tender sentiment. Once, when he professed the most devoted attachment, she smilingly placed her hand on his left breast, and said—

"It is not a heart you have there, but a lump of brains, such as is in your head."

For some unknown reason she never sought any intimacy with her son, the celebrated D'Alembert, though not insensible to his growing fame and reputation. He, too, shewed no anxiety to frequent his mother's saloons, probably because he felt keenly the neglect with which she had treated his childhood. Their relationship was notorious in Paris, and the absence of intimacy was frequently made the subject of reproach to both. Some writers assert that Fonte-

nelle had a large share in producing and continuing this alienation, because he dreaded that the talents of D'Alembert might endanger his ascendancy in Madame de Tencin's saloons. This, however, is not very probable, for while he sought to take the lead in her assemblies, he was still more anxious to be the literary hero at the dinners of her rival, Madame Geoffrin.

Claudine de Tencin died in 1749, unjustly calumniated by the Parisian public. It was her fate to be believed innocent during the period of her pastoral intrigues, to be accused of excessive gallantry when she was exclusively devoted to politics, and to be censured for ambition when she had abandoned all other pursuits for the enjoyment of a literary life. She was deeply regretted in her own circle; she left legacies to her chief favourites, all of whom went into mourning as for a near relation. Even Fontenelle grieved for her, and thus characteristically expressed his sorrow—

"The loss is irreparable: she knew my tastes, and always provided for me the dishes I preferred. I shall never find such delicate attention paid me at the dinner-table of Madame Geoffrin."

C. Coypel. pinx. *Jes Brown. sc*

Louis

DUKE OF ORLEANS.

REGENT OF THE REALM.

CHAPTER VI.

THE DEVOUT DUKE OF ORLEANS. — HIS BIRTH. — HIS PRECEPTORS. — HIS CHARACTER AS DUC DE CHARTRES. — HIS CONDUCT ON THE DEATH OF HIS FATHER.—HONOURS CONFERRED UPON HIM.—THE DUC DE BOURBON. —HE SEEKS A WIFE FOR THE KING. — MADAME DE PRIE. — PROPOSAL OF CATHARINE OF RUSSIA. — MALADY OF THE KING. — THE INFANTA SENT BACK TO SPAIN. — THE BISHOP OF FREJUS. — INTRIGUE AGAINST HIM.—HIS HASTY DEPARTURE FROM PARIS AND RECALL.—HORACE WALPOLE, THE ENGLISH AMBASSADOR, AND THE BISHOP.—THE DUKE OF ORLEANS AND THE YOUNG QUEEN. — EXILE OF THE DUC DE BOURBON, AND OF MADAME DE PRIE.—A STORY RELATING TO HER.—HER DEATH. — CARDINAL FLEURY PRIME MINISTER. — HIS GOVERNMENT. — PIOUS GALLANTRY OF THE DUKE OF ORLEANS. — CHARACTER AND ACTIONS OF THE DUC DE CHAROLAIS.—HIS SISTERS. — THE PRINCE OF CONTI.—DISAPPOINTED HOPES OF THE ORLEANS BRANCH.—THEY REVIVE.—PURSUITS OF THE DUKE OF ORLEANS.—INSTANCE OF HIS COURTESY.—HIS DEATH.

Louis Philip of Orleans, Duc de Chartres and son of the Regent, was born August 4th, 1703. His person was deformed and his intellect rather dull, so that his father used to say that he united in himself the defects of all the other Princes of the Blood, and that no one could believe him (the Regent) capable of removing Louis XV. to make room for a prince who would be a disgrace to royalty. Little attention was paid to his education; he was sometimes entrusted to the charge of his mother, and at others, permitted to wander through the dissipated circles of the Palais Royal, and to listen to conversation not at all calcu-

lated to instruct the mind or improve the morals of a child. His tutor was the Abbé Manguin, who, though inclined to scepticism himself, filled the mind of his pupil with the most gloomy ideas on the subject of religion, and rendered him, like Philip V. of Spain, continually apprehensive of being doomed to the tortures of hell.

Another of his preceptors was the Chevalier de Bethune, from whom he received lectures in metaphysics. The Chevalier was a wild and dreamy speculator, but profoundly learned and moderately eloquent.* This gentleman had imagined a theory of the Metempsychosis, in which the system of Pythagoras was strangely blended, or rather jumbled, with the doctrines of Christianity, and he taught it to his pupil, who received it with the most implicit faith. He was convinced that the souls of the virtuous are only for a moment absent from the earth, and that they re-appear in new forms. He gravely related his visionary discourses with Henry IV., Louis XIV., and several other of his deceased favourites, exhibiting the most violent indignation if any one presumed to doubt his fanciful assertions.

Though introduced by his father into the Council

* He is said by the editor of D'Argenson's Memoirs to have been the author of a "History of Charles VI., in nine volumes, published under the pseudonyme of Mademoiselle de Lussan." It abounds in those strange tales of sympathies, antipathies, spectral visits and supernatural communications, which seem a compound of the superstitions of the middle ages and the reveries of the Rosicrucians.

of Regency, and created Grand Master of the Orders of *Saint Lazare and Notre Dame du Mont Carmel*, the Regent's son took no interest in politics. Villeroy, anxious either to conciliate the Duke of Orleans, or to raise suspicions against him, persuaded him to revive the office of Colonel-general of infantry in favour of the Duc de Chartres. This placed at his disposal the vacant commissions in all the French regiments of infantry, except the troops of the household, and would have powerfully aided his claims in case of a disputed succession to the Crown. But he was so shy and taciturn that no one ever could tell whether he ever hoped to become King of France; yet pride was so largely mixed with his reserve, that he probably believed that the death of Louis XV. might open to him the inheritance of royalty.

For the sake of fashion and to avoid the ridicule of the young nobles and officers around him, he took an opera dancer for his mistress; but, according to common report, he entertained her more frequently with scholastic and metaphysical dissertations, than with declarations of love. No better proof of his perfect nullity under the Regency could be given, than the almost total omission of any notice of his existence in the voluminous correspondence of his grandmother, Madame.

The Duc de Chartres was in Paris with his mistress when he heard the intelligence of the Regent's apoplectic fit. He set out immediately for Versailles, and on the road received the account of his father's

fearful death.* The calumnies which persecuted Philip of Orleans during his life were revived even on this occasion. It was said, and for some hours believed, that he had taken by mistake some poisoned coffee, which he had prepared for the King. So strong was the suspicion, that when the Duc de Chartres reached Versailles, he found himself shunned by all the courtiers except the Ducs de Noailles and de Guiche,† who tendered him their services, and the aid of their dependents. He received them as two insidious intruders who had some evil design upon him, hastily passed them by, and ascending to his mother's apartments, informed her that he had met two persons who had set a dangerous trap for him, but that he had known how to disappoint their cunning. The duchess had great trouble in convincing him that he had been guilty of a piece of foolish impertinence; but this did not prevent frequent exhibitions of the same want of knowledge of the world, during the time that he remained at Versailles waiting for the funeral. He refused admission to his father's nearest friend, the Duc de Saint Simon; and when at length etiquette compelled him to receive the visit, he exhibited a silent moroseness which soon put an end to the interview. The Duc de Bourbon, though prime

* See the admirable scene in the third chapter of Dumas's "Daughter of the Regent;" though a pure fiction in the details, all the outlines are justified by the cotemporary records.

† Our readers will remember that De Guiche had given effective aid in securing unlimited authority for the Regent.

minister, and a Prince of the Blood, was treated with similar haughtiness and reserve. Many persons remarked that the young duke was playing the part of a king before his time.

Louis XV. paid a visit of condolence to the Duchess-Dowager of Orleans, and granted her an increase of her pension, together with several honourable privileges usually reserved for queens. He also visited the Duc de Chartres; or, as we must henceforth call him, the Duke of Orleans, and gave him permission to establish his household on the footing of heir-presumptive to the throne. The Chevalier de Conflans was nominated his first gentleman of the chamber, the Chevalier d'Epinay, the captain of his guards, and the Chevalier de Clermont, his first esquire.

These high honours gave great offence to the Duc de Bourbon. He deemed it a hardship to be obliged to recognize the precedency of the Duke of Orleans, who took several occasions rather offensively to assert his superior privileges as first Prince of the Blood. For instance, he applied to the King in person for a suite of apartments at Versailles, though they had previously been offered to him by the minister; he received the resignation of M. d'Argenson, which was clearly a violation of official etiquette; and he insisted on making his reports as colonel-general of infantry to the King himself without the intervention of the council. In revenge, the Duc de Bourbon revived the old project of the conspiracy of Cellamare, and took some steps to have Philip V. of Spain

declared next heir to the Crown in the then probable event of the death of Louis XV. without issue ; though this was a project he had strenuously denounced under the Regency, and had himself contributed to punish with his usual brutality. The events in Spain recorded at the close of the fifth chapter disconcerted these intrigues, and in the meantime the Duke of Orleans greatly strengthened his interest and influence by contracting a marriage with the Princess of Baden Baden. His mother, who still retained all the haughtiness of a daughter of Louis XIV., and regarded her legitimation as equivalent to legitimacy, was the person who dictated this choice. She sent M. d'Argenson to Rastadt to conduct the necessary negotiation, which involved so many points of difficulty, that he was compelled to return to Paris for fresh instructions. On his way home he passed through Strasburg, where he visited Stanislaus, the deposed King of Poland, and his beautiful daughter, the Princess Mary Leczinska.* When D'Argenson returned to Versailles, he related in every company the virtues and the charms of Leczinska so fervently, that the Duke of Orleans was anxious to have her for his wife in preference to the Princess of Baden. He yielded, how-

* "The cradle of Mary Leczinska had been rocked amidst the storms of civil war. On one occasion, for example, when still a child in arms, she was forgotten and lost in a hurried retreat; and at length, after an anxious search, was found by her father lying in the trough of a village stable."—LORD MAHON, vol. ii. ch. 13.

ever, to the urgency of his mother, and the marriage took place in May, 1724.

The Duke of Bourbon became every day more alarmed at the prospect of the Duke of Orleans ascending the throne of France. Louis XV. was still in feeble health. His engagement with the Infanta of Spain, who was yet only six years old, put off for at least ten years the chance of an heir; and while he assured the Spanish Court that he was making preparations to celebrate the marriage with the Infanta, he sent secret emissaries to every part of Europe to select a suitable Queen for Louis XV. It appeared from their reports, that there were ninety-nine princesses in Europe marriageable, but of these only twenty-five were Catholics, and amongst them the most eligible appeared to be Mademoiselle de Vermandois, the duke's own sister, who was five years older than the King.*

All the duke's actions were guided by his profligate and impetuous mistress, Madame de Prie. To her he communicated his project; but she insisted on previously visiting the lady, in order to sound her intentions. Accordingly, under a feigned name, she visited Mademoiselle de Vermandois in her convent, and adroitly contrived to turn the conversation on herself. The young lady, who was very haughty and very pious, expressed the greatest horror at the notoriously bad character of her brother's mistress. Madame de Prie could hardly contain herself; she cut short the inter-

* The duke's daughter, Mademoiselle de Sens, was like the Spanish Infanta, a mere child.

view, and as she went out whispered to her companion, "that young lady shall never be a Queen." *

As there were reasonable apprehensions of the resentment of the King of Spain for the insult about to be offered to the Infanta, it was resolved to secure the support of England, whose power at that time was believed to be irresistible; and for this reason Madame de Prie formed the rather whimsical project of uniting the French King to the Princess Anne of England, the daughter of the Prince of Wales. The Count de Broglie, the French ambassador in London, was entrusted with the management of this negotiation; and so confident was Madame de Prie of success, that she caused the affair to be announced in the Gazettes as a matter already concluded. But the English ministry saw the indecency and danger of an abjuration of Protestantism by the grand-daughter of a monarch who had been raised to the Crown as the defender of the Protestant faith, and the King declared that the religious objection was insuperable.

Soon after an offer was made to the Duc de Bourbon which he might have conceived to be advantageous. Catherine I., Empress of Russia, finding herself insecure on the throne, to which she had succeeded on the death of Peter the Great, † hoped to be able to strengthen herself by an alliance with France. She offered to Louis the hand of her second daughter,

* Mademoiselle de Vermandois subsequently took the veil and died in a convent.

† He died February 8th, 1725.

Elizabeth, engaging that she should embrace the Catholic religion, and that the ports of Russia should be opened to France on the most favourable conditions. But the value of a Russian alliance was not then understood in France, and the offer was respectfully declined.

In the midst of these negotiations a new alarm accelerated the resolutions of the Duc de Bourbon and Madame de Prie. On the 20th of February, 1725, the young King was attacked by a violent malady, which, for more than forty-eight hours, threatened to baffle the skill of the physicians. The courtiers crowded to the apartments of the Duchess-Dowager of Orleans, while the saloons of the prime minister were deserted. The Duke of Bourbon now believed himself on the point of being delivered over to his rival and enemy. So long as the crisis lasted, he was to be seen running like a maniac about the palace, giving the most contradictory orders, and forming the most dangerous projects. When the King began to exhibit a prospect of recovery, the duke resolved on finding him a Queen without delay.

We have seen that the duke, conscious that he was likely to provoke the resentment of Spain by a wanton insult, had sought to strengthen himself by some new alliance, and wished to unite the young King to a princess of a powerful reigning family. Such a policy did not suit Madame de Prie: she wished that the Queen should be a person raised by herself, and bound to her by every tie of gratitude.

She therefore fixed on Mary Leczinska, daughter as we have said of the exiled King, Stanislaus (then residing in Alsace, on a moderate pension allowed by France). A private letter from the Duc de Bourbon announced the welcome intelligence to Stanislaus;* the Duc d' Antin and the Marquis de Beauvais then made the demand in form, and on the 2nd of September the marriage was celebrated in the cathedral of Strasburg, the Duke of Orleans acting as proxy for the King.

Nothing could exceed the indignation of the Spaniards when they heard that the Infanta was about to be sent back. The King and Queen expressed their indignation in the most unmeasured and passionate terms.† The French envoy and all the French consuls, were ordered to quit Spain. Mademoiselle de Beaujolais and the Queen-Dowager of Spain were sent back, they were exchanged for the Infanta‡ on the Bidassoa, with sentiments very different from those which animated the parties when they had been exchanged for the first time, three years before.

* When he received the letter he rushed to his daughter's apartments, and on entering it, exclaimed: "Let us fall on our knees, and return thanks to God!"—"What!" exclaimed the princess, "is it possible that you have been restored to the throne of Poland?"—"Ah! my child," he replied, "Heaven is still more favourable to us: you are Queen of France!"

† The Queen exclaimed to the French envoy, the Abbé de Livry, "All the Bourbons are a race of devils!" then suddenly recollecting that her husband was of that House, she turned to him and said, "Except your majesty."

‡ The Infanta subsequently married Don Joseph King of Portugal.

The new Queen seemed to have some presentiments of her future unhappiness; she shrunk from the honours which were tendered to her on her way from Strasburg to Fontainebleau, where she was to be united to Louis, and exhibited much timidity when first introduced to the King. The Cardinal de Rohan pronounced the nuptial benediction, but in every other respect the ceremonial was less splendid than was usual in royal marriages. Aware that she owed her elevation to Madame de Prie, Mary Leczinska exhibited the warmest gratitude to that lady and to her protector, the Duc de Bourbon. This partiality prevented her from becoming popular; France, at the time, was enduring the pressure of a scarcity almost amounting to famine, and the people laid all the blame of their misery on the negligence and extravagance of the administration. Madame de Prie was accused of buying up corn, and retailing it to the poor at an extravagant price, and a similar charge was brought against the Duc de Bourbon; both, indeed, were notorious for their avarice and their want of principle, which they evinced by setting up for sale every office that became vacant. It is probable that the Queen was unacquainted with their characters, or else she would hardly have bestowed upon them an amount of confidence far greater than gratitude required.

The next incident which excited public attention was, that the Duke of Orleans exerted all his influence to secure the acquittal of M. le Blanc, whose greatest

crime appears to have been the displeasure he had given Madame de Prie, by continuing to be the constant lover of her mother. The trial was vexatiously protracted, but at length M. le Blanc was acquitted, to the great delight of every one in France, except the prime minister and his mistress. Great praise was bestowed on the energy which the Duke of Orleans manifested; it was the first and the last time he shewed any interest in affairs of State.

A more formidable enemy to the Duke of Bourbon, was the Bishop of Frejus, by whom he had been originally elevated to the office of premier. The duke was very jealous of the influence the bishop possessed over the mind of the King, who always required the presence of his former tutor at the royal councils. The Queen, instigated by Madame de Prie and Paris Duverney, the youngest of the four brothers, whose strange history has been already related, aided the duke in his endeavours to remove the bishop. The King, unsuspicious of the plot, received his ministers one day in the Queen's closet, and when the bishop came as usual, to give his assistance in the royal cabinet, he found that the affairs of State had been already settled. Perceiving the danger with which he was menaced, he wrote an eloquent and pathetic letter to the King, in which he bade a fond farewell to his royal pupil, and announced his intention to spend the rest of his life in retirement. Having delivered this letter to Niert, the King's first valet-de-chambre, in whom he could place implicit confidence, he retired to

a convent of Sulpicians at Issy, where he had formerly found shelter on the disgrace of the Marshal de Villeroy.

On his return to his private closet, the King received the letter, which overwhelmed him with grief, for he believed himself abandoned by the only friend on whom he could rely with certainty. Tears flowed down his cheeks, and he passed into another room to hide his emotion from his servants. Niert immediately sought the Duc de Montemart, first gentleman of the royal chamber, to whom he communicated the circumstances as they had occurred. The duke hastened to the King, found him overwhelmed with grief, and had some difficulty in persuading him to avow the cause of his sorrow. Montemart then, assuming a tone of zeal for his master and contempt for the minister, exclaimed, "What, Sire! are not you master? command the Duc de Bourbon to send instantly for the Bishop of Frejus, and you will again be united to your friend." Perceiving that the King hesitated, Montemart offered to convey the royal commands to the prime minister, and the King joyously accepted his services. Nothing could exceed the consternation of Bourbon when he received the message. He attempted to raise delays and difficulties; but Montemart, who felt that if he failed now, he should be exposed to ministerial vengeance, and regarded as the author of the message of which he was the bearer, insisted so strongly on immediate obedience to the King's commands, that the duke was forced to comply.

Montemart then sent off the important order by an officer of the royal guards, on whose fidelity he felt assured he could rely.

After the express had been despatched, Bourbon, Madame de Prie, and their confidants held a consultation to deliberate on their position. It was proposed by some to arrest the bishop on the road between Issy and Versailles, to send him off to a distant province, where he might be detained in exile by a *lettre de cachet*, and to persuade the King that he had refused to return. It was bold advice, and had it been adopted, would probably have succeeded. It would have been easy to induce the King to believe that the bishop had become weary of the turmoils of the Court, and that he had of his own accord sought retirement. Nobody would have dared to contradict the prime minister. The King, who had recently evinced an extraordinary passion for the chase, might have been diverted from politics by a succession of amusements, and by the blandishments of the young Queen, who was wholly devoted to Madame de Prie, and the absent would soon have been forgotten. Fortunately for France, then suffering under the worst administration known in its history, whilst the Cabal was still deliberating, the Bishop of Frejus arrived at Versailles, and was received by the King as a father.

Horace Walpole, the English ambassador, and brother of Sir Robert Walpole, at this period prime minister of England, aware of the influence the Bishop of Frejus possessed over the King's mind, carefully

courted his friendship, probably anticipating his future elevation to power. He was the only person who, on the first news of the bishop's flight, had hastened to visit him at Issy, and had there tendered him all the support and influence of the British government. As this visit was paid before the order of recal arrived, the prelate, though prone to suspicion from his age, character, and experience, felt the firmest conviction of Walpole's sincerity, and during the whole course of his subsequent administration, exerted himself to preserve uninterrupted the peace between France and England.

Although the Duke of Orleans had taken no part in these proceedings, he was far from looking on as an unconcerned spectator. The unprovoked hostility shewn to him and his family by the Duke of Bourbon, for whom his father, as Regent, had done so much, rankled in his breast; and, in spite of his cold temperament, made him anxious to thwart the imperious minister. He felt keenly the insult and wrong offered to his sisters, Mademoiselle de Beaujolais and the Queen-Dowager of Spain, the consequence of Bourbon's sending back the Spanish Infanta. He was more secretly but more naturally irritated by the King's marriage, which he and everybody else knew to have been designedly hastened to defeat his claims as heir-presumptive; and for all these reasons he gave a zealous though not a very active support to the cause of the Bishop of Frejus.

The Duke of Orleans had felt from the first an affec-

tionate attachment to the Queen ; and Mary Leczinska, whose character was not unlike his own, admitted him to her confidence and friendship. He took advantage of this favour to enlighten the Queen respecting the real character of Madame de Prie, whose open profligacy disgusted all Paris, and whose frequent infidelities to the Duke of Bourbon were notorious to everybody but the duke himself. It was generally believed, and apparently with very good reason, that through the agency of the Duke of Orleans, the Bishop of Frejus succeeded in reconciling the Queen to the dismissal of her favourite ; and that it was to his efforts that the removal of the minister to whom she was indebted for her elevation to the throne, was effected.

Though no one could doubt the sentiments with which Bourbon and Frejus regarded each other, it was amusing to see the extraordinary respect which the duke affected for the bishop ;—the latter enjoyed his triumph meekly ; he scrupulously accorded the duke all the homage due to his birth, rank, and station ; but under the guise of this apparent humility he concealed a steadfast determination to accomplish his downfal. Madame de Prie, strongly attached to the duke's fortunes, but not at all to his person, exerted herself to secure the support of the prelate. She assured him that the Duke of Bourbon had the highest respect for his character and integrity ; and she declared, that though the world declared her to be the duke's mistress, she was nothing more than his friend, and that she had often given him judicious counsels which unfortunately

he had not followed. But she found it easier to deceive a young duke than an old prelate. The bishop affected to believe the lady, and she deemed herself most secure at the moment everything was prepared for her dismissal.

The catastrophe was marked by a display of unnecessary hypocrisy,—a piece of king-craft in which Louis XV. was a remarkable adept. On the 11th of June, 1726, the King went to a large hunting-party at Rambouillet. Before setting out, he sent for the Duke of Bourbon, and said to him with a most gracious smile, "I pray you, my cousin, not to make us wait for you at supper." The royal cortège, had not quite cleared the precincts of Versailles, when a captain of the guards placed in the duke's hands, a royal letter, containing only the following words:—"I command you under pain of contumacy, to retire at once to Chantilly, and to remain there until further orders." The prince was compelled to obey on the instant. He was not allowed to hold communication with anybody, and a detachment of the guards escorted him to his place of exile. After this disgrace, he never recovered any political importance, but remained in obscurity until the time of his death, which did not take place, until January 27th, 1740.

A *lettre de cachet* was sent to Madame de Prie, commanding her to retire to her estates at Courbe-Epine, in Normandy. She proceeded to Paris, where she lingered two or three days, hoping that the influence of the Queen might obtain a revocation, but

exhibiting no sorrow at her separation from the Duc de Bourbon, for whose loss she easily consoled herself with other lovers.* But renewed injunctions from Versailles, compelled her to hasten her journey, and she set out with strong hopes of being speedily recalled; but finding herself soon forgotten, she fell into a fit of melancholy, and died in a few months.†

* "An hour before she set out she went into her closet, and sent for an obscure lover to whom she wished to bid farewell. The twain were apparently too much occupied with each other, or too pressed for time to think of shutting the windows; so that several persons from the window of a neighbouring house had an opportunity of witnessing their tender adieux. They did not keep the secret; but as they were too distant to recognise the features of the favoured lover of the duke, and far from suspecting that he was one of her husband's clerks, they bestowed the honour and the jests on a young friend of mine, the only person who dined with her that evening, and who has often told me the story."—*Mémoires de Duclos.*

† The firmness of Madame de Prie was not long sustained. Scarcely had she reached Courbe-Epine, when she learned that her place of lady-in-waiting on the Queen had been given to the Marchioness d'Alincourt. She then saw clearly that she was expelled from the Court never to return. Despair seized her; chagrin consumed her, without her having the consolation of being able to persuade the physician whom she summoned, and Silva, the duke's physician, whose consultations she received, that she was really sick. They always pretended that her illness was merely vapours or nervous attacks,—for nervousness was a disease then coming into fashion, and taking the place of vapours and the other imaginary complaints with which doctors hide their ignorance. They doubtless knew not the symptoms of a death from despair; for they continued to treat Madame de Prie as a mere hypochondriacal patient until the day of her death, which took place in her twenty-ninth year, after she had languished fifteen months in exile.

When the news of the fall of the Duke of Bourbon reached Paris, it excited inexpressible transports of joy. The police had great difficulty in preventing the bonfires and illuminations which were immediately prepared. The two elder of the brothers Paris, were exiled, and the youngest was sent to the Bastille. Even the Queen had to bear her share in the crisis. She received from her husband a letter at once imperious and cruel; it contained only the following words:—

"MADAME,

"I entreat you, and if necessary, I command you, to do everything the Bishop of Frejus will enjoin in my name, as if I had commanded you myself.

(Signed) LOUIS.

The incapacity and the distaste of the Duke of Orleans for public life prevented the Bishop of Frejus from offering him the post of prime minister, though it had been the great object of his policy to place that office in the hands of a Prince of the Blood, whom he could in secret manage and control. Under these circumstances, the bishop,—soon after better known as Cardinal Fleury,—though at the advanced age of seventy-three, assumed the office of premier.* Thus

* "If ever," says Voltaire, "there was any one happy on earth, it was Fleury. He was considered one of the most amiable and social of men till seventy-three, and at that age, usually one of retirement, came to be respected as one of the wisest. From 1726 to 1742 everything throve in his hands, and till almost a nonagenarian, his mind continued clear, discerning, and fit for business."

began the best administration France was destined to possess through the whole course of the eighteenth century. The finances were restored to something like order; trade revived, manufactures were established, and the agriculture of France became the first in Europe.* Fleury never entirely forgave the Queen for her alliance with the Bourbon faction, though she made several efforts to gain his confidence. Mary Leczinska, in fact, had as little taste for politics as the Duke of Orleans himself, and, like that prince, she was excessively devout, going from convent to convent to perform devotional exercises. Probably a knowledge of the friendship between the Queen and the pious duke was one of the reasons which induced Fleury to exclude him from the ministry. At a subsequent period, when Mary Leczinska had too much reason to lament the studied neglect and open infidelities of her husband, she frequently lamented in the private circle of her friends, that she had not been simple Duchess of Orleans,—as there was at one time a chance of her having been,—instead of Queen of France. "As-

* An accomplished traveller writes from Dijon in 1739, "France is so much improved it would not be known to be the same country we passed through twenty years ago. Everything I see speaks in praise of Cardinal Fleury. The roads are all mended, and such good care taken against robbers, that you may cross the country with your purse in your hand. . . . . The French are more changed than their roads; instead of pale yellow faces wrapped up in blankets, as we saw them, the villages are all filled with fresh-coloured lusty peasants in good clothes and clean linen. It is incredible what an air of plenty and content is over the whole country."

suredly," she said, "we should have been a most happy and well-matched pair. Whilst my spouse was discussing theology with the fathers at St. Genevieve, I should have been performing my devotions at the convent of the Carmelites."*

According to D'Argenson, whose memoirs give the fullest account of the pious Duke of Orleans, this prince fully reciprocated the Queen's feelings. One day, after he had talked for an immense length of time with the Queen, while no one was permitted to overhear the subject of their conversation, he suddenly threw himself on his knees and spent several minutes in prayer, earnestly supplicating God to pardon the thoughts which had presented themselves to his imagination. The Queen used to take great pleasure in relating this anecdote, which she described as an unrivalled specimen of gallantry united to devotion.

Though a member of the royal council during the whole of Fleury's administration, the Duke of Orleans was so much offended at not having been appointed successor to the Duke of Bourbon, that for some time he refused to take any share in the affairs of State. He believed that the administration belonged to him by hereditary right, and his incapacity neither diminished his pride, his jealousy, nor his ambition. Fleury consoled the prince with the prospect of becom-

* "This queen makes no more of a dozen masses in a morning than Hotspur did of as many Lowland Scotsmen for his breakfast!"—Mr. Robinson to Mr. Delafaye, September 16th, 1725. *Hardwick State Papers*, vol. ii.

ing his successor, at a date which, according to all human probability, seemed not likely to be very distant. Orleans appears to have been reconciled to the cardinal by this adroit suggestion of hope; indeed, if a Prince of the Blood must succeed to this high office, he alone had pretensions, slight as they were, to the situation.

The Duc de Bourbon was not only in exile, but the King had vowed never again to admit him to Court; and when his mother, the duchess-dowager, besought the King to allow her son to come to Paris for the purpose of consulting the physicians of the metropolis on the state of his health, Louis XV. refused her with a laconic sternness not very consistent with royal politeness. By the people of France, and by the citizens of Paris, he was so thoroughly detested, that his restoration to the ministry would probably have been the signal for a general insurrection.

But bad as the Duc de Bourbon was, his brother, the Count de Charolais, was infinitely worse. He excited public execration by acts of such ferocious atrocity that they seem to belong to the worst tyrants of antiquity. Like all the nobles who had been educated under the Regency, he abandoned himself to the wildest and most profligate debauchery, which, however, did not satisfy him unless it was accompanied by the most savage cruelty. He murdered one of his servants, whose wife, fondly attached to her husband, had refused to receive his addresses. He fired at the slaters employed on the tops of houses, and when he brought down one of his

human game, hastened to gratify himself by watching his last agonies. Tardy justice was at length aroused; the parliament threatened him with a prosecution, and he hastened to secure himself by obtaining a royal pardon for his past offences. The King granted it with obvious reluctance, saying, "Here it is; but pardon will be still more readily granted to him who slays you."

The sisters in this delectable family were hardly better than the brothers. Two of them were abbesses of monasteries, very rigid and ostentatious in their devotional exercises, but cruel tyrants over the unfortunate nuns subject to their sway. Both exerted the most perverse ingenuity in discovering means of torturing these poor victims of the cloister. Another had married the last Prince of Conti. She was suspected as a wife, and reproached as a mother for having trained her daughter to habits of the most vicious indulgence. Finally, Mademoiselle de Charolais, after she had attained the mature age of forty, had exerted herself, though unsuccessfully, to gain the affections of the King, and when she failed, took a malicious pleasure in diverting his attention from the Queen to some one or other of his numerous mistresses.

The Prince de Conti succeeded his father in 1727. He had been educated chiefly by his mother, a princess who thoroughly hated her husband, and had hastened his death by the violence of her temper. The young prince entered on public life at the age of eighteen, and even then distinguished himself by acts of cruelty

and debauchery, which seemed to announce that he would be the rival of the Count de Charolais. He, however, became reformed as he advanced in years, and at the close of his life might be cited as an honourable example of a studious prince and an enlightened patron of literature and the fine arts.

But though the Duke of Orleans surpassed the other Princes of the Blood in moral character, he was utterly ignorant of the affairs of the administration. Cardinal Dubois had been very anxious to train him in his bureau, but the pride of the prince revolted at the bare notion of serving under a man of mean birth; and as his father the Regent would not admit him to his cabinet, he lost the opportunity of serving an apprenticeship to statesmanship.* Still he was not quite a cypher in the cabinet. He was a zealous advocate of peace and alliance with England, and more hostile even than his father had been to the Spanish branch of the House of Bourbon. No one of the Orleans family kept a more vigilant watch over the chances which might open the succession to the Crown of France to his own branch of the Bourbons: to him, indeed, may be attributed the tenacity with which three successive Dukes of Orleans clung to this hope, until the last finally grasped the prize; and in

* Dubois attempted to bribe Mongault, one of the prince's preceptors, who had great influence over him, to induce the prince to serve under the cardinal. Mongault sternly refused, and found friends sufficiently powerful to shelter him from the vengeance of Dubois.

less than twenty years had the mortification of finding it wrested from his hands.

The rival hopes of the Spanish line of the Bourbons, and of the Duke of Orleans, were not a little dashed when, on the 4th of December, 1729, Mary Leczinska gave birth to a dauphin; she had previously become the mother of three daughters, two being twins. This circumstance, and the premature death of his duchess, tended to alienate the Duke of Orleans from public affairs. He devoted himself to the study of theology, and to trace it to its source, rendered himself complete master of those oriental languages, which are most closely connected with biblical literature. He believed that God had entrusted him with the mission of converting heretics to Catholicity, and he wrote several controversial treatises remarkable for great extent of learning, and for a closeness of logic not unfrequently degenerating into dialectic quibbling. Thomas Aquinas was his favourite model, and, like his prototype, the duke felt more pleasure in scholastic and metaphysical subtleties than in the development of any great principle. He used to pass entire days at the convent of St. Genevieve, disputing with the erudite fathers of that monastery on the true sense of some Hebrew or Chaldee passage; on the punctuation of a verse in the Bible; or on the true locality of the terrestrial Paradise. Another pastime of his was to aid the parochial clergymen in catechising the children, and to take part in every religious procession. While the Duke of Orleans was thus innocently, if not use-

fully employed, an event occurred which once more opened to his family a prospect of succeeding to the throne.* Mary Leczinska, a lady naturally of a cold temperament, began to feel an alienation from her husband, and availed herself of every possible pretext to exclude him from her society. When she admitted him to her chamber she reproached him with his habits of intoxication, and declared that the smell of wine on his breath made her sick. These matrimonial causes of quarrel were betrayed to the courtiers by the royal valets Bachelier and Lebel: every effort was made to exasperate the King, and induce him to take a mistress, and no longer to live "like a mere citizen." Their intrigues might have failed, had not the Queen one evening peremptorily refused to receive the King, and persevered in her negative, though three messengers in succession were sent to change her resolution. Louis in his rage, swore that all the relations of husband and wife were at an end between him and the Queen for ever. The decision was final, for Louis XV. once offended, never forgot his anger, and never forgave the object of his indignation. Thus, once again the frail life of a feeble dauphin was the sole obstacle between the throne and the ambitious hopes of the House of Orleans.

* D'Argenson says, "It was impossible for any one to be more keenly sensitive than he was on the conventional right to the throne secured for the House of Orleans by the treaty of Utrecht to the prejudice of the right of birth in the Spanish line of the Bourbons."

In 1741, the Duke of Orleans after a long absence made his appearance at Court.* His object was to obtain the hand of the King's second daughter, the Princess Henrietta, for his son, the Duc de Chartres. This marriage, by bringing the House of Orleans into closer contact with the throne, would have been a new guarantee to Europe for the renunciations of Philip V. The Duke of Orleans attached great importance to it, and attributing the refusal he received to the influence of Cardinal Fleury, he vowed that he would never come near the Court so long as that prelate remained minister. The Duc de Chartres was soon after married to the Princess of Conti, and this union put an end to the feud which had so long severed the Houses of Orleans and Bourbon.

The Duke of Orleans passed the remainder of his

* His ignorance of what had occurred during his long absence led him into some ludicrous errors, and his total want of politeness rendered his presence peculiarly unpleasant to Louis XV., who piqued himself on his gallantry. We find the following curious anecdote in the Memoirs of Maurepas. "The Duke of Orleans, the son of the Regent, being one day at church with the Queen and the Princes, Mademoiselle de Clermont not being able to find a place, explained her difficulty to him. 'I know very well where my own place is,' replied the duke, 'but I cannot tell where yours may be.' Mademoiselle de Clermont, astonished and confused, prepared to seek a seat in one of the lower stalls, but the King, who had witnessed the occurrence, invited her to come up, and placed her between the dauphin and the Duke of Orleans, and consequently above the latter. The King then turning to the duke, said, 'It is only sons and grandsons of France who have the privilege of being impolite to ladies.' The duke looked sulky, but made no reply."

life with the erudite fathers of Sainte Genevieve, whose Jansenist opinions he had firmly adopted. So fierce were religious disputes at this time, that the curate of St. Etienne refused to administer the last sacraments to the duke on his death-bed; the prince, however, availed himself of the services of his own almoner, and forbade any prosecution of the curate. He died February 4th, 1752, bequeathing all his manuscripts to the Jacobin fathers, who, like himself, were devoted to Thomas Aquinas. He also founded a professorship of Biblical Hebrew at the Sorbonne, "in order," as he declared, "that heretics should not be the only Christians who studied the Holy Scriptures in their original languages."

CHAPTER VII.

LOUIS PHILIPPE, GRANDSON OF THE REGENT. — HIS EARLY CAREER. — IMMORALITY OF LOUIS XV.—MADAME D'ETOILES, AFTERWARDS MARCHIONESS DE POMPADOUR.—PRIVATE THEATRICALS AT VERSAILLES.— MEMBERS OF THE COMPANY.— THEIR RULES. —VOLTAIRE'S PANEGYRIC. — ITS CONSEQUENCES. — THE DUKE OF ORLEANS AND HIS "CASTLES IN SPAIN."— ATTEMPT UPON THE LIFE OF LOUIS XV. BY DAMIEN.—HIS PUNISHMENT. —M. DE LANDSMATH AND THE KING OF FRANCE.— DEATH OF MADAME DE POMPADOUR.—DEATH OF THE DAUPHIN, AND OF THE DAUPHINESS.— MADEMOISELLE DE GENTHIÉVRE AND THE DUC DE CHARTRES. — THE DUCHESS DE GRAMMONT. — THE DUC DE CHOISEUL. — MADEMOISELLE LANGE.—HER INFLUENCE OVER LOUIS XV.—MARRIAGE OF MARIA ANTOINETTE TO THE DAUPHIN, AFTERWARDS LOUIS XVI. — FRIGHTFUL ACCIDENT AT THE FESTIVITIES ON THE OCCASION. — DISGRACE OF THE DUC DE CHOISEUL.— ILLNESS AND DEATH OF LOUIS XV.— ORATION OF THE ABBE ST. MAURY.

Louis Philippe of Orleans, the son of Louis of Orleans and the Princess of Baden, was born at Versailles, May 12, 1725. The eccentricities of his father did not permit him to receive a very perfect education; and, as he exhibited at an early period a passion for military life, he was appointed, at the age of thirteen, to the command of a regiment of infantry, called after his own name. He served as general of cavalry in the campaign in Flanders, in 1742; and in the following campaign he was entrusted with the charge of the household troops. At the battle of Dettingen, where the French suffered a severe defeat through the unskil-

fulness of Marshal de Noailles, the duke had a horse killed under him, and narrowly escaped being made prisoner. He was present at the battles of Fontenoy, Harcourt, and Lawfeld, besides taking an active part in the sieges which have established the military reputation of Marshal Saxe.

In December, 1743, he married the Princess Louise Henriette de Bourbon-Conti. This union was for a few years attended with happiness; but after having given birth to a son and daughter, the duchess indulged in scenes of licentiousness, which scandalised even the profligate Court of Louis XV. It was to escape from witnessing misconduct, which he had not the energy to prevent, that the Duke of Orleans rejoined the army at the commencement of "the Seven Years' War." He served under Marshal d'Estrees, in the campaign of 1757, and is said to have contributed greatly to the brilliant victory obtained by the marshal over the English at Hastenbeck, and to have merited as much glory as his grandsire at Cassel. But this was the last of his fields. Louis XV., acting on the hereditary jealousy with which the elder branch of the Bourbons regarded the House of Orleans, refused to employ him any longer in the army. He returned to the Court, which he disliked, and thenceforth was a spectator rather than an actor in the political vicissitudes of his age. So retired was his life, that his name is scarcely mentioned by historians or writers of Memoirs; but there were some changes in which he took a more active part than is generally suspected, and we shall therefore

have to record those events in the disgraceful reign of Louis XV., which altered the personal position of the duke, or which changed the dynastic relations of the House of Orleans. But we have found great reason to lament the scantiness of materials for the private history of the seventeenth century. St. Simon left no successor; and the ponderous collections of Soulavié are so destitute of authority, that no statement in them can be received without the scrutiny of a rigid examination.

After his quarrel with the Queen, Louis XV. had taken for his mistress the Countess de Mailly; her sisters, envious of her position, sought a share in the royal favour, and three of them obtained it. On the death of one of them, a fourth sister was base enough to supply her place, and Louis would have added a fifth to his harem, had she not steadfastly refused so degrading an offer. In 1744, the King having fallen dangerously ill at Metz, was seized with conscientious scruples, and at the urgent request of his spiritual attendants, consented to dismiss these precious sisters. But after his recovery he returned to Paris, and immediately commenced negotiations for the recal of his favourites, who insisted on a guarantee against such another ignominious expulsion as they had endured at Metz; but while they hesitated, the King fell into the hands of a new mistress, who had the advantage of being supported by the whole influence of the Orleans family, and who, having acquired the powers of a Queen in everything but the name, became the scourge of

France and of Europe: this was Madame Le Normand d'Etoiles, better known by her subsequent title of the Marchioness de Pompadour.

Madame Le Normand d'Etoiles was the wife of a sub-farmer of the finances, and the daughter of a citizen named Poisson, who had been butcher to the Hospital des Invalides, and afterwards became a bankrupt. Her husband's uncle negotiated the marriage of the beautiful Jane Poisson with his nephew; he further presented half his fortune to the bride on the day of her marriage, and promised the remainder at his death—no inconsiderable dowry—for he held the lucrative post of Farmer General.* She was therefore rich, and able to go to a large expense in villas, dress, and equipage. She purchased a chateau near the forest of Lénart, where the King frequently enjoyed the pleasures of the chase. Madame d'Etoiles took advantage of these hunting parties to attract the notice of the King and the Court. She appeared at them sometimes in a rose-coloured robe and azure phaeton; at others in an azure robe and rose-coloured phaeton; she affected to wear the costume of the goddess Diana, a character to which she had many claims, derived from personal charms, but few from the moral qualities ascribed to that goddess. She soon succeeded in attracting the notice of the King, who shewed his admiration of her by sending

* Voltaire being asked, to tell a story illustrative of the greatest excess of rapacity and peculation, began: "There was once a Farmer-General——," and then stopped. Being asked to proceed with his story, he replied, "Having once named a Farmer-General, there is nothing more to be said upon the subject."

her presents of game. At length the jealousy of the sisters was roused by these attempts, and they warned her, that if she continued to appear at the royal hunting parties, the consequences might be more dangerous than she imagined.

While negotiations were in progress for the recal of the sisters, a ball was given to the King at the Hôtel de Ville, by the municipality of Paris, * and thither Madame d'Etoiles went in masquerade habit, which was then the custom. As the disgrace of the sisters was generally known, crowds of ladies anxious for the post supposed to be vacant, crowded round the King, and perplexed him with their airs, gestures, and observations. While he stood in silent confusion, Madame d'Etoiles approached, and, in a tremulous voice, recalled to his memory the hunting scenes in the forest of Lénart. Perceiving that the King listened with interest, she continued the conversation until she felt assured that there could be no possible doubt of her identity, and then affected to mingle with the crowd, having first let fall her handkerchief. The King took it up with an air of passionate gallantry, and as she was already too distant to present it to her, he threw it towards her in the most tender and respectful manner. "The handkerchief is thrown!" was the instantaneous excla-

* It was given in honour of the dauphin's marriage with Maria Theresa Antoinette, Infanta, of Spain, which took place February 23rd, 1745. As the dauphiness lived but one year, the epoch is only valuable as fixing the commencement of the rule of Madame de Pompadour.

mation of the whole assembly, though no one but the parties themselves knew anything of the person selected.

Madame d'Etoiles refused to receive the visits of the King at her own house, declaring that she dreaded too much the jealousy of her husband, who, indeed, was passionately attached to her ; Louis, therefore, assigned her a suite of apartments in the steward's house at Versailles. From thence she was speedily removed to the palace, and was formally installed as Royal mistress. Thus commenced the reign of an intriguing favourite who sought by pleasing Louis XV. to rule the kingdom, and who succeeded in the attempt, notwithstanding her mean birth, narrow intellect, and defective education. To hide the lowness of her origin the King created her, by letters patent, Marchioness of Pompadour, a title which had become extinct some years before, and though she was in no way related to this ancient family of the Limousin, she did not hesitate to assume their armorial bearings on her carriages.

The Princess de Conti, mother-in-law of the Duke of Orleans, was the first to recognise the power of the new favourite. She presented her to the Queen, and Maria Leczinzska, who was destitute of all jealous feeling, gave a most gracious reception to her rival. She even condescended to dine with Madame de Pompadour one day when she visited Choisy to inquire respecting the King's health. Thenceforth, all the ladies of the Court deemed it no derogation to court the friendship of one whom they had at first nick-

named "the chamber-maid." The Duchess of Modena, the Princess of Conti, and Mademoiselle de Sens, were foremost in this degradation, and seemed to take a pride in publicly exhibiting themselves as the favoured companions of her whom they had at first stigmatized as "the little grisette."

The Duke of Orleans became a firm partizan of Madame de Pompadour. He entered into the company she organized in 1747, among the courtiers, to amuse the King with private theatricals. This was a recreation in which the lady had acquired some fame before she was introduced to the palace; her acting and singing at Etoiles, where her uncle, M. de Tournehern had a private theatre, had attracted many of the nobles to Etoiles; the Duc de Richelieu had been frequently a spectator, while the Ducs de Nivernois and Duras had appeared with Madame de Pompadour, on the stage. Louis XV. had often heard of these entertainments, and at his request a company was formed at Versailles, and the Cabinet of Medals was fitted up as a theatre.*

* A code of laws was prepared for the guidance and direction of the members, which we insert, as it is but little known. It was suspended in the theatre, and bore the rather pompous title of

STATUTES.

I. In order to be admitted as a member of this company, it will be necessary to prove that it is not the first time the candidate has acted in comedy, for this company will admit no apprentices.

II. Each member shall specify his peculiar cast of parts.

III. No member, without the unanimous consent of the company, can select a part different from that determined upon.

IV. No one, in case of absence, shall have the privilege of

The members of the company were the Dukes of Orleans, Agen, Nivernois, Duras and Coigny; the Marquises of Courlenvaux and Enhargues; and the Count de Maillebois.

The actresses were the Duchess de Brancas, the Marchioness de Pompadour, the Countess d'Estrades, and Madame de Marchais, afterwards Countess d'Angivilliers.

The manager was the Duc de la Valliere; and the

naming a substitute. That right is reserved to the society, and is to be determined by the absolute majority.

V. The substitute shall resign his place to the original member on his return.

VI. No member shall have the power of rejecting a part assigned by the company under the pretext of its being unsuited to his style or too fatiguing.

(These six rules apply to actors and actresses alike.)

VII. the actresses, alone, shall possess the right of selecting the pieces to be represented.

VIII. They shall have, also, a right to declare the day of representation, to determine the number of rehearsals, and to fix the day and hour for them.

IX. Every actor shall be present precisely at the hour fixed for rehearsal, under penalty of a fine, the amount of which shall be determined by the actresses at their discretion.

X. Half-an-hour's grace shall be allowed to the actresses; but after that they shall be subject to a fine, the amount of which shall be determined by the actresses themselves.

A copy of these statutes shall be given to every member, and also to the manager and secretary. The secretary must have them ready to produce at every rehearsal.

Lanjou informs us, that these statutes were framed by Madame de Pompadour herself, and thus explains the privileges secured to the actresses.

secretary and prompter was the Abbé de la Garde, librarian and chaplain to Madame de Pompadour.

Madame de Pompadour was anxious to introduce Voltaire at Court; she therefore chose his comedy, "The Prodigal Son," as the first piece for representation. It had such decided success, that the King permitted the author to be invited to the second representation, where Voltaire, for the first time, had the pleasure of receiving plaudits in the presence of Royalty; for Louis XV. anxious to get rid of etiquette in these private amusements, had requested that they would disregard the rule which allowed no applause to be given when a King visited the theatre. This honour led to the exile of Voltaire. Delighted at being the only author whose dramas had experienced complete success, he addressed a most flattering ode to Madame de Pompadour.* The eulogy was so extravagant, that it was looked upon as an insult by the Queen and her daughters; and the princesses made such strong representations on the subject, that the King sent the

* The following is a copy of this ill-fated ode:—

"Ainsi donc vous réunisez
Tous les arts, tous les dons de plaire,
Pompadour! Vous embellissez
La cour, le Parnasse, et Cythère,
Charme de tous les yeux, tresor d'un seul mortel,
Que votre amour soit éternel!
Que tous vos jours soient marqués par des fêtes!
Que de nouveaux succès marquent ceux de Louis!
Vivez tous deux sans ennemis!
Et gardez tous deux vos conquêtes."

poet into exile. This event greatly afflicted Madame de Pompadour, but she had too much discretion to remonstrate, and she was rewarded for her complaisance, by being appointed superintendent of the Queen's household.

In the year 1752, the dauphin (father of Louis XVI.) was attacked with the small-pox, and fears for his life were entertained. Louis XV., who had an intense dread of this disease, refused to go near his son, but the dauphiness, Maria Josephina of Saxony, attended him so constantly, that Pousse, one of the physicians, took her for a tender of the sick, and said, "You are one of the best nurses I ever saw in my life; pray tell me your name, my dear." The physicians were obliged to make a daily report to the King, who held his council in Pompadour's apartments, and on these occasions a close watch was kept on the countenance of the Duke of Orleans. Louis XV., however, appears to have resolved, that in case of his death without heirs, the succession should pass to the Spanish line of the Bourbons. He disliked the Princes of the Blood, and regarded them all as so inferior to himself, that he would have deemed himself humiliated if he had been compelled to recognise any one of them as his heir. He betrayed his sentiments on this matter, by exclaiming, when his son recovered, "What a fine game the King of Spain has lost!"

Close observers, however, asserted that in spite of his apparent dulness and indifference, the Duke of Orleans at the period of the dauphin's illness, clung to

the hereditary hope of his family, and that the magnificent fête which he gave at St. Cloud, to celebrate that prince's recovery was intended to disguise his own disappointment. Madame de Pompadour, in speaking of this entertainment, said to the Duchess de Brancas, "He wishes to make us forget the *châteaux en Espagne** which he erected, but they built their castles in Spain on a better foundation." This might have been true so far as the will of Louis XV. was concerned; but the Duke of Orleans, from his residence in the Palais Royal, was so popular in the capital, that he was usually called the "King of Paris."

Though the Duke of Orleans was one of the most assiduous courtiers of Madame de Pompadour, the Duchess of Orleans thoroughly hated her, and launched against her the most bitter sarcasms, which soon circulated through Paris, and greatly offended the King. The Duke of Orleans was at this time, excessively jealous of the Count de Melfort, and not without reason. One morning the lieutenant of police informed the King, that there was reason to apprehend that the duke intended to get rid of the count by assassination. The King replied, "My cousin of Orleans will not dare to attempt such a crime. But he may do something better; let him lay a plot to surprise the count, and he will find me quite ready to shut up, in a prison or convent, that devil of a duchess. If he got rid of one lover she would soon have several others; indeed, she has some others at

* A phrase equivalent to the English "castles in the air."

present, such as the Chevalier de Colbert, and the Count d'Aigle."*

At this time so corrupt was the Court, that the King was frequently harassed by letters from ladies of rank, containing immoral solicitations. The presents he made to these harpies exhausted the treasures of the State, and kept the finances in perpetual peril of bankruptcy. The principal nobles lived in the same dissipated manner; most of them became deeply involved in debt; and even the Duke of Orleans, in spite of his vast wealth, felt the pressure of pecuniary embarrassments.

The Parliaments, supported by the people, resisted the King's edicts of taxation;—the Jesuit portion of the clergy suspecting Madame de Pompadour of attachment to Jansenism, joined in the opposition to the Court, and a general ferment pervaded the public mind.

On the 5th of January, 1757, about six o'clock in the evening, as the King was stepping into his carriage to go from Versailles to Trianon, the crowd as usual was very dense in the court of the palace, being anxious to see him pass. The cold was intense, and most of the spectators were wrapped in cloaks and great-coats: the place also was very dimly lighted. Suddenly a man advanced among the guards as if he had been an officer of the household, struck the King with a penknife in the side, and then retreated back among the crowd. The King placed his hand upon the wound, and seeing that his fingers were dabbled with blood,

* Mémoires de Madame de Hausset.

he pointed out the assassin to the guards, and said, "There is the gentleman who has struck me." He was instantly seized; and just at the moment of his arrest he exclaimed, "Let good care be taken of His Royal Highness the Dauphin, and let him not stir out during the whole day!"

This led to the suspicion that the assassination had been planned by the Orleans family as next in succession to the throne. Machault, the Keeper of the Seals, the Chancellor Lamoignon, and Rouillé, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, at once formed themselves into a committee to examine the prisoner, who gave his name Robert Francis Damien, a native of Artois. According to the detestable practice of the time, he was examined by torture. Two of the life-guards, armed with red hot pincers, tore away pieces of flesh from his arms and legs; but these torments only served to render his answers more incoherent and his depositions more contradictory. He protested that he only intended to give the King a sharp warning, and this seems very probable, as he had struck Louis with a pen-blade, though the same handle contained a formidable stiletto that could be held open with a spring like a Spanish knife, and a blow from which would have been in all probability fatal.

It further appeared that Damien had been educated by the Jesuits, and had lived in the service of some persons connected with the Parliament. It happened that the Jesuits and the Parliament were about this time at war with the King, and amongst themselves

Each of these bodies endeavoured to throw the blame upon the other; but public opinion decided against the Jesuits, so that many of them were compelled to leave France to ensure their personal safety. All these charges were destitute of foundation. Damien was simply a maniac, without accomplices, without any definite object, utterly unable to give any explanation of his conduct. The Princes of the Blood, but particularly the Prince of Conti and the Duke of Orleans, superintended the examination. He was subjected to the most frightful tortures on the rack, but no consecutive answers could be obtained from the unhappy lunatic. A consultation of physicians was then held, to determine by what form of death his agonies could be rendered most excruciating and most protracted, and this conclave devised for him the most barbarous cruelties ever recorded in history.

The preparations for Damien's execution attracted the attention, not only of France, but of Europe. Strangers came from a distance to witness it,* large

* We extract the following from Mr. Jesse's very interesting work, "George Selwyn and his Cotemporaries," vol. i. :—

"Selwyn, as is well known, paid a visit to Paris for the purpose of seeing Damien broken on the wheel, for attempting to assassinate Louis XV. On the day of the execution he mingled with the crowd in a plain undress and bob-wig, when a French nobleman, observing the deep interest he took in the scene, and imagining, from the plainness of his attire, that he must be a person in the humbler ranks of life, chose to imagine that the stranger must infallibly be a hangman. 'Eh bien, monsieur,' he said; 'êtes vous arrivé pour voir ce spectacle?'—'Oui, monsieur.'—'Vous êtes bourreau?'—'Non, non, monsieur, je n'ai

sums were paid for a seat in the windows that commanded a view of the scaffold, and horrible to relate, ladies of the highest rank were among the spectators.

On the 28th of March, a little before five in the evening, Damien, whose limbs had been broken by the tortures of the rack, was brought in a litter to the scaffold, and delivered by the officers of Parliament to the executioners. They bound him to an iron frame and then commenced the tortures. The knife with which he had struck the King was fastened to his right hand, which having been filled with sulphur and pitch, was held over a burning brasier until it was burned to the wrist. The assistants of the executioners then tore away fragments of his flesh from all parts of his body with red-hot pincers; but he uttered no cry until the executioner poured a mixture of melted lead and rosin

pas cette honneur; je ne suis qu'un amateur.' Sir Nathaniel Wraxall has given a somewhat different version of this story. 'Selwyn's nervous irritability,' he says, 'and anxious curiosity to observe the effect of dissolution on men, exposed him to much ridicule, not unaccompanied with censure. He was accused of attending all executions; and sometimes, in order to elude notice, disguised in a female dress. I have been assured that, in 1756, he went over to Paris expressly for the purpose of witnessing the last moments of Damien, who expired under the most acute tortures, for having attempted the life of Louis XV. Being among the crowd, and attempting to approach too near the scaffold, he was at first repulsed by one of the executioners; but having informed the person, that he had made the journey from London solely with a view to be present at the punishment and death of Damien, the man immediately caused the people to make way, exclaiming at the same time, 'Faites place pour monsieur; c'est un Anglais, et un amateur.'"

into the bleeding wounds, when his shrieks were so loud as to be heard distinctly at the remote verge of the crowd. He was then loosed from the frame and thrown on the scaffold to recover breath for the final torment. Four strong and spirited horses were brought, and a limb of Damien was firmly attached to each. The mounted grooms then urged them with whip and spur in different directions; but though the bones were wrenched from their sockets they were not severed from the trunk. At length the executioner cut the principal tendons; the horses were spurred to new exertions, and the unhappy wretch was torn in sunder. His still palpitating limbs and trunk were then thrown upon a pile which had been prepared, and were soon reduced to ashes. This horrible scene lasted more than two hours, and yet the cruel vengeance of the King was not satisfied. Damien's father, wife, and sister, were banished from France, under pain of death if they returned; and all who bore the assassin's name were commanded to change it.

The wound which the King had received was so slight that it would not have caused the least uneasiness to any one but a coward like Louis. He believed, or affected to believe, that the knife had been poisoned, and under this impression eagerly demanded the last rites of the Church. The Queen was summoned to his bed-side; the saloons of Madame de Pompadour were deserted; Machault advised her, in a tone which had more of command than entreaty, to remove from Versailles; and D'Argenson courted the Dauphin

as a prince whose accession was immediate and certain.

There was an esquire in waiting on the King, M. de Landsmath, a coarse old soldier, who retained much of the language and manners of the camp in the midst of the refinements of the Court. He visited the King, and found him in bed, surrounded by the Queen, the Dauphiness, and the Princesses, all of whom were dissolved in tears. "Turn out all these weeping women," said the old campaigner to the King, "I want to speak to you alone." The King made a sign to the Princesses to withdraw. "Come, sire," said Landsmath, "your wound is nothing, you wore too many coats and waistcoats for the knife to have penetrated far. Look here," he continued, uncovering his breast, and shewing five or six large scars, "it is thirty years since I received these wounds, and I am not dead yet. Come, cough as loud as you can." The King coughed. "It's a mere nothing," said Landsmath, "you may laugh at it; in four days we shall hunt a stag."—"But if the knife was poisoned," said the King. "Clear your head of that nonsense," replied the old soldier, "if it had been, your clothes would have wiped off the poison." The King was comforted, and passed a very good night.

The Abbé de Bernis and the Duke of Orleans, did not desert Madame de Pompadour, and they were soon rewarded for their fidelity. So soon as the King's apprehensions were removed, he returned to his old courses with more ardour than ever. Machault and D'Argenson were dismissed from their offices; Bernis

became the principal favourite, entering on a career of promotion which led him to a cardinal's hat; and the Duke of Orleans was used by the King as a counterpoise to the growing popularity of the Dauphin.

Royal favour, however, could not disguise the perfect nullity of the character of the Duke of Orleans. He disliked the Dauphin, and could not conceal his jealousy of the great talents for business manifested by that prince; but he avoided taking any active part in public affairs; he appears to have been perfectly quiescent in the events which led to the expulsion of the Jesuits and the elevation of the Duc de Choiseul; and he seems to have preserved an indolent neutrality in the fierce struggles between the King and the Parliaments.

Death made sudden and rapid changes in the Court of Louis XV, and once more revived the recollections of the claims of the House of Orleans to the succession. In the spring of 1764, Madame de Pompadour was attacked by a painful disease which her physicians soon pronounced to be mortal. The King, contrary to the etiquette which forbade the death of any not of the Blood Royal, within the precincts of the palace, had her brought from Choisy to Versailles, where she continued to direct the affairs of State until the last day of her life. She died April 15th, 1764, in the forty-fifth year of her age. Her brother, the Marquis de Maugny, succeeded to her money and estates, her husband having steadily refused to accept any part of this

rich inheritance. Louis did not shed a tear or exhibit the least grief at her death. The remark he made at her funeral evinces the hardness of his heart. He stood at a window, as her remains were brought out during a heavy shower of rain, and, turning to his attendants said, "The marchioness has no very pleasant weather for her long journey."

The Dauphin did not long survive the favourite. A pimple or tetter appeared underneath his nose, which somewhat disfigured his countenance, and anxious to remove it, he secretly used some quack medicine. The Dauphiness discovered it, and removed the drug, but the Dauphin was enraged, and procured a fresh supply. The pimple disappeared; but the absorbed humours descended to the chest, and he was attacked with a sharp racking cough. While in this condition, he went to Compeigne, where a flying camp had been established to review his own regiment of dragoons. One day, when he was very warm from military exercise, he alighted in a damp meadow, where he got his feet wet. The hour of council was at hand; he entered his carriage without changing his stockings, and remained late; before he reached his hotel he had some shivering fits, and the next day he exhibited the symptoms of a very serious cold. He neglected it, and continued to expose himself to the alternations of cold and heat all the time his regiment remained in Compeigne. When he returned to Paris he was so ill that the King sent Senac, his own physician, to attend him; but the Dauphin rejected all medical advice. He said to

Senac, "I shall always be very glad to see you, to chat about literature and history; but if you come to speak about my health the door will be shut in your face." Senac, aware of the Prince's danger, and yet unwilling to offend him, came to him one day as he sat in a saloon hung with tapestry, depicting some events in the life of Alexander the Great. Turning to the figure of the Macedonian monarch, Senac commenced a warning lecture on the dangers of a neglected cold in the chest. The Dauphin, interrupting him, said, "I have forbidden you to speak on that subject." Senac replied, "I am speaking to Alexander, here, and if he does not attend to me, in two months medical aid will be too late." The Prince laughed heartily at this ingenious turn, but still refused to take the physician's advice. Early in October the fatal symptoms of confirmed consumption appeared, and he died on the 20th of the following December. Notorious as the cause of his death must have been, suspicions of poison were industriously circulated; but the imputations were directed not against the House of Orleans but the Duc de Choiseul,* who had been elevated to the rank of

* Some historians have quoted as a confirmation of this calumny the dislike manifested by Louis XVI. for the Duc de Choiseul. This, however, originated, not in any suspicion of poison, but in his recollection of Choiseul's rather insolent demeanour to the Dauphin when they differed in opinion at council. Louis XVI., once speaking of the Duc de Choiseul, said, "I owe it to my father's memory not to admit into my favour a man who grossly violated the respect due to him, and insolently declared himself the personal enemy of the son of his sovereign." —*Morceaux Historiques de M. de Meilham.*

prime minister by the favour of Madame de Pompadour, and who, for some unknown reason, was peculiarly odious to the Dauphin.

The Dauphin's son, who eight years afterwards ascended the throne of France as Louis XVI., was at this time only eleven years of age. It is recorded as a proof of sensibility in a monarch usually represented as totally destitute of that feeling, that when this child, entering the audience chamber of Louis XV. was announced as His Royal Highness the Dauphin, the King exclaimed, "Unfortunate France! A King fifty-five years of age, and a Dauphin only eleven!"

Though Louis XV. was jealous of his son, he attended him very sedulously during his illness, but did not manifest very deep emotion at the time of his death. He shut himself in his closet, more it appears to conform to etiquette than to indulge grief. "Still," says M. de Besenval, "the Duc de Choiseul having written to ask for an audience, the King granted it, and expressing himself with frankness, declared that the loss of his son had only slightly touched his heart, but that still he regretted him very much, as he had been an object of terror to the parliaments, which being delivered from such a restraint were likely to become very troublesome." It was as a protector of the Jesuits that the magistracy dreaded to witness the accession of the Dauphin. The rest of the nation, without having any partiality for the disciples of Loyola, and somewhat alarmed at the ascendancy they might obtain over the conscience of the Prince, still

regretted the Dauphin as a virtuous Prince, who, if called to the throne, would have laboured to restore order, economy, and morality.

Stanislaus, the father of the Queen, was the next of the Royal Family to die. On the 5th of February, 1766, having risen at an early hour, he went to warm himself, but approaching too near the grate, his dressing-gown took fire. In his efforts to extinguish the flames, having vainly rung his bell, his foot slipped and he fell against the burning wood, and was dreadfully scorched before any one could come to his assistance. He died from the effects of this accident on the 23rd of February, and the Duchies of Lorraine and Bar were formally reunited to the Crown of France.*

The Dauphiness soon followed her husband to the tomb, leaving behind her the Queen, a prey to mortal illness. She died June 25th, 1768. Louis XV., perhaps conscious of the wrongs he had inflicted on her, manifested some emotion at her death. But his grief was of short duration: he drowned his repentance in fresh indulgence of the most licentious debauchery.

Notwithstanding the great wealth to which the Duke of Orleans had succeeded, extravagance had greatly crippled his resources, and in selecting a wife

* France had really made these acquisitions in 1738. The independence of these provinces was merely nominal; and so little importance was attached to the formal reunion of the duchies, that it is not even mentioned in the "Annual Registers" for that year, either of England or Holland.

for his son, the Duke de Chartres (afterwards the notorious Philip Egalité), his first and almost only consideration was to obtain for him a large dowry. The enormous estates and pensions which Louis XIV. had heaped on his natural children, the Duc de Maine and the Count de Toulouse, were about to devolve on M. de Lamballe and Mademoiselle de Penthièvre, the surviving children of the Duc de Penthièvre, the only child of the Count de Toulouse and the Princess of Modena. The Prince de Dombes, eldest son of the Duc de Maine, had died unmarried, and his only brother, the Count d'Eu, was a bachelor whose advanced age and declining health announced that he would not long delay the inheritance of his great wealth.

Matters were in this position in 1768, and Mademoiselle de Penthièvre having attained a marriageable age, all who might venture to claim her hand began to urge their pretensions.

The Abbé de Breteuil, chancellor to the Duke of Orleans, was very anxious that the wealthy heiress should marry the Duc de Chartres; and the character of the Abbé, which was none of the best, gave rise to a report that the Duc de Penthièvres had given him a large sum to bring about the match. Besenval, however, assures us that this report was unfounded. The Abbé encountered great difficulties on the part of the Duke of Orleans, who had been brought up in an absolute horror of the legitimated Princes, the rivals and enemies of his grandfather, and the claimants

of privileges peculiar to the Princes of the Blood. Moreover, he did not deem the fortune of the lady sufficiently large to atone for the bar of bastardy on her ancestral escutcheon, "for," says Besenval, "it is a received doctrine in France, that opinions and prejudices respecting marriages should always yield to a certain proportion of money, and just as the sum is more or less, will be the amount of public blame or approbation."

Although the Abbé de Breteuil was obstinate in his determination and persevering in his exertions, he would hardly have succeeded in determining the Duke of Orleans, had not an important event aided him in changing the mind of that prince. M. de Lamballe was attacked by a painful disease, produced by the dissipated life he had led; he had soon to submit to a very dangerous operation, and immediately after the surgeons declared that he was in the most imminent danger. In case of his demise, Mademoiselle de Penthièvre would have inherited from her father, the Duc de Penthièvre, and from her uncle, the Count d'Eu, estates yielding a clear annual income of three millions of livres, or £120,000 sterling. This was too strong a temptation for the Duke of Orleans; it at once subdued his prejudices against the family, and his repugnance to the match; he determined to ask the hand of the lady for his son, and he went to the Duc de Choiseul, requesting him to take upon himself the management of the affair. No one was so well qualified and situated as this minister for bringing the affair to a happy

issue. Independent of the influence he necessarily possessed as prime minister, he was the most intimate friend of the Duc de Penthièvre, who reposed the most unlimited confidence in him. Choiseul had a personal friendship for the Duke of Orleans, who had aided Madame de Pompadour in raising him to the rank of prime minister; but knowing his weakness, which often caused him to act on the suggestions and advice of those who spoke to him last, he strenuously recommended him to reflect well before taking any steps by which he might be inextricably compromised, should he at a subsequent period find reason to alter his determination. He set before him every thing that could be said for or against the marriage; and finding that the Prince was resolved to persevere, prepared to act accordingly.

But the Duke of Orleans was not the only person tempted by the large fortune of Mademoiselle de Penthièvre. The Prince of Condé sought her hand for his eldest son, the Duc de Bourbon, and he likewise applied to the Duc de Choiseul, soliciting his advice and interest. The minister did not conceal from the Prince of Condé his previous engagements with the Duke of Orleans, adding, that as he was the confidential friend of the Duc de Penthièvre, he could not avoid advising him to give his daughter to the first Prince of the Blood rather than the second. Although the Prince of Condé was much mortified by this refusal—as indeed he subsequently shewed—he dissembled his resentment for the time: "No one," says Besenval, "knowing

better that, in order to succeed, we should never despair in any enterprise, nor abandon it before the moment of its final termination."

In consequence of the engagements which the Duc de Choiseul had entered into with the Duke of Orleans, the minister waited on the Duc de Penthièvre, whose consent was obtained with very little difficulty. He declared that he would submit implicitly to the advice of Choiseul, and placed in his hands an exact schedule of all his possessions. He even confided to him a copy of his will, and allowed all his papers to be examined by the law agents of the Duke of Orleans. That prince, however, was less touched by this generous confidence, than disappointed at the small amount of fortune the Duc de Penthièvre proposed to settle on his daughter. He declared that he could only secure her an annual income of fifty thousand livres (2,000*l.*), for the present; but he promised to secure her all the rights and chances of eventual inheritance. The Duke of Orleans was nevertheless prevailed upon to be satisfied, but always in the hope of the speedy death of M. de Lamballe, which appeared to be certain.

Matters seemed to be in an excellent train, and likely to be speedily arranged; but it was necessary to obtain the consent of the King, and this proved to be more difficult than had been anticipated. "Absolute sovereigns," says Besenval, "who are so superior to all others in their dominions, ought naturally to be above jealousy, since by a single word they can abase every one who gives them umbrage; still there are none who

are not offended either by the excessive opulence or the too great influence of their subjects, especially when these subjects are placed by their birth in close proximity with the throne." To the jealous emotions which the King instinctively felt against the greatness and popularity of the Orleans family, was added the notion that at some future time the Duke of Orleans would add the vast inheritance of his family to the fortune he was about to obtain by marriage; and this would give him an annual income of six millions of livres (240,000*l.*)—a fortune far beyond what the King could bestow on his grand-children, the Count de Provence, afterwards Louis XVIII., and the Count d'Artois, afterwards Charles X. The self-love of Louis XV. being thus wounded in several ways, the Duc de Choiseul had great trouble in extorting from him a promise, which he gave with manifest regret; indeed his reluctance was not overcome until the minister shewed him that he had not any right to prevent the Duc de Penthièvre from giving his daughter to the Duc de Chartres.

The consent of the King having been obtained, all parties thought that every obstacle had been removed, but one suddenly appeared from an unexpected quarter which changed the entire aspect of affairs. Monsieur de Lamballe had a sudden change for the better, and the emissaries whom the Duke of Orleans had in his pay, brought him word that the wealthy patient was out of danger. Nothing more was wanting to make a total revolution in the duke's intentions; he did not

wish for Mademoiselle de Penthièvre, except on the contingency of her brother's death, and her being sole heiress. When these chances became doubtful, he availed himself of the smallness of her dowry as a pretext for breaking off the marriage, and forbidding any one to speak to him on the subject. Still feeling embarrassed by a sense of the probable consequences on the public mind of so sudden a change, he allowed it to be believed by the Parisians—at that moment disposed to think favourably of the Orleans family—that the match had been broken off through the influence of the Count de Pont Saint Maurice, first gentleman of the Prince's chamber; who, indeed, had always shewn the greatest repugnance to the marriage.

We may easily conjecture the indignation of the Duc de Penthièvre, who was forced to endure all the mortifications to which men of rank too frequently subject men of wealth; and who, besides, had been compelled to endure repeated instances of discourtesy and unpoliteness from the Duke of Orleans during the progress of the affair. But nothing could surpass the rage of the Duc de Choiseul, who found himself equally and unpleasantly compromised with the Duc de Penthièvre and with the King. He bitterly reproached the Duke of Orleans, vowing that he would never again interfere in that prince's affairs so long as he had breath. He then went to the King to propose a marriage to him between Mademoiselle de Penthièvre and the youngest of the King's grandsons, the Count

d'Artois.* There were good and plausible reasons to be urged in favour of the match, and the Duc de Choiseul omitted none of them ; but he advanced them in vain. The King's vanity was too powerful to be overcome by his minister's reasoning, and he remained firm in the opinion that such a marriage would be a degradation to a grandson of France, and that he would incur universal contempt if he allowed one of his descendants to be bribed into an alliance with the bastard line.

The Prince of Condé was too keenly alive to his own interests not to profit by these circumstances. He renewed on the instant his ardent solicitations to the Duc de Choiseul, supplicating him to advocate the cause of the Duc de Bourbon. Choiseul, who was fondly attached to the daughter of the Duc de Penthièvre, could not avoid feeling that she would be thrown away upon the Duc de Bourbon. Still, however, feeling piqued against the Duke of Orleans, he offered his services to the Prince of Condé to obtain the lady's hand for himself. The Prince thanked him, but declined the offer, saying, "I love my son too well to wrong him by marrying a second time."

Not the least strange part of this curious history is the violent passion which Mademoiselle de Penthièvre had formed for the Duc de Chartres. She

* The minister had had far better information as to the state of M. de Lamballe than the Duke of Orleans : he had consulted the physicians, and had received from them a positive assurance that the recovery of M. de Lamballe was utterly impossible.

had never seen him but once, and that was at the house of their mutual relation, the Princess of Modena, where the Duc de Chartres had given her his hand to lead her to her carriage. ' When she returned to the convent in which she then resided, she declared that she never would marry any other husband, and had never since ceased to hold the same language, though at that time there seemed very little probability of the accomplishment of her desires. When informed that the hopes of a marriage for which she so earnestly longed had vanished, and that her friends had thoughts of uniting her to the Count d'Artois, she declared to the Duc de Penthièvre that she would never give her consent; and that if he attempted to force her, she would go and cast herself at the King's feet to beg that he would place no constraint upon her inclinations, and thus render her miserable for the rest of her life: that she never would have any other husband than the Duc de Chartres; and that if she could not obtain him, she would end her days in the cloister. This firmness was the more remarkable, as the young lady was one of the most gentle and timid creatures in existence.

The improvement in the health of M. de Lamballe was not permanent; a sudden relapse supervened, and in a very brief space hurried him to the tomb. The Duke of Orleans then became conscious of the grievous mistake he had made in having broken off so lucrative a match which there was little prospect of his being able to renew; and in having quarrelled with

the Duc de Penthièvre and the Duc de Choiseul, the latter of whom he knew to be anxious to secure the hand of the heiress for the Count d'Artois. Nevertheless he charged the Abbé de Breteuil to attempt a revival of the negotiations with the Duc de Choiseul, and particularly to secure the influence of the Duchess de Grammont,* the minister's sister, who was known

* Great injustice has been done to this lady by many historians. She did not enter public life until she was past her twenty-eighth year, when her brother brought her from her retirement to be the associate of his power. Her dread of being supposed capable of receiving a bribe led her to one great act of cruelty and injustice. Some libels having asserted that M. de Lally had given her a set of splendid diamonds to obtain her brother's protection against the charge of treason for his government in the East Indies, she induced Choiseul to become an active agent in the unjust prosecution of Lally, and to ratify the iniquitous sentence of death pronounced on that brave but unfortunate gentleman. The duchess survived her brother, and was one of the many victims of the Reign of Terror. When brought before the Revolutionary Tribunal, and asked by Fouquier Tinville, "Have you not sent money to the emigrants?" she replied, "I might easily deny it; but I will not purchase life by a lie!" Her great anxiety was to save the life of Madame de Châtelet, whom she had persuaded to return to France. "It would be useless," said she to the judges, "to speak of myself; but I owe it to truth to say, that nothing can be imputed to Madame de Châtelet, who has never meddled with public affairs, who has never known party spirit, and never participated in any intrigue. There are many as innocent as she is; but there is none whose character and habits of life are less susceptible of accusation or even suspicion." For more than thirty years the saloons of the Duchess de Grammont were the rendezvous of all the political, literary, and fashionable celebrities of Paris; but during the entire period no person of equivocal reputation, whether gentleman or lady, was ever admitted to her society.—*Note de M. de Meilhan.*

to possess great power over his mind. The Duke of Orleans often disgusted his friends by his indecision of character, and the ignoble meanness which he displayed in pecuniary transactions; but they pardoned him for the sake of his amiable bashfulness, and the services he was ever ready to render them so far as his timidity permitted. On the other hand, the Duc de Choiseul was of a kindly and yielding disposition; and the more passionately prompt he was in the first movements of anger, the less duration had his resentment. Such dispositions on both sides facilitated the Abbé de Breteuil's efforts to renew the negotiations for a marriage which had encountered so many obstacles. Although the Duc de Penthièvre was naturally and justly vexed at the way in which he had been treated, he was affected by the warm inclinations of his daughter for the Duc de Chartres; and besides, he reflected that as she could not marry the grandson of a king, she was not likely ever to obtain a more brilliant or more advantageous match than the heir of the House of Orleans. Means were taken to inform the intended bridegroom of the strength of her inclination for him, and he also became anxious to accelerate the marriage. At length, the ceremony so eagerly desired—but for such very different reasons, and by so many parties—was celebrated at Versailles in the month of May, 1768, with an amount of splendour rarely exhibited, save at the marriages of crowned heads.

Choiseul had good reason for seeking to strengthen

himself by political alliances. The Marshal de Richelieu was jealous of him; the Duc d'Aiguillon planned his overthrow; the Chancellor Maupeou undermined his influence with the King; the Archbishop of Paris regarded him as an enemy to religion; and the Duc de la Vanguyon, the great friend of the Jesuits, avenged himself on the author of their exile by denouncing him as the poisoner of the Royal Family. On the other hand, the Duke of Orleans and the King's daughters supported the minister; but the Condé family, displeased at his having preferred the Duc de Chartres to the Duc de Bourbon, gave all their influence to Richelieu. A far more dangerous enemy to Choiseul soon appeared in the King's new mistress, who was all the more dangerous, that she seemed too contemptible to effect any mischief. A few words will suffice to relate her history.

Mademoiselle Lange,* the daughter of a clerk at the barriers, was seduced at an early age and descended to utter degradation. She then proceeded to Paris, and obtained a situation at a milliner's establishment, then the ordinary school of corruption. Here she was seen by the Count Jean du Barri, one of the most profligate *roués* in Paris, who supported himself by "plucking pigeons;" that is to say, stripping of their money thoughtless men of wealth at

* She was born at Vaucouleurs, the birthplace also of Joan of Arc: hence it was remarked, that the same village had produced the great preserver and the great destroyer of the French monarchy.

the gaming-table. The count proposed to Lange that they should enter into a kind of partnership. She was beautiful, seductive, and animated; he, therefore, trusted that with such an ally he could bring crowds of dupes to his gambling establishment. This speculation had great success; but after some time the count aimed at higher game. He made the acquaintance of Lebel, the purveyor to the King's licentious inclinations, and induced him to introduce Mademoiselle Lange to his Majesty's notice. Destitute of the modesty and respect which Louis had been hitherto accustomed to find in a mistress, Lange had the charm of novelty for the elderly monarch. He formed the strongest attachment for her, and invited her to become his mistress in form. As, however, he felt that royalty would be degraded by placing a woman like this in such a situation, he resolved to procure her a husband who would give her a respectable name; and a brother of the Count du Barri was found ready to take upon him this degrading office. The Countess du Barri, thus formally installed, had great difficulty in finding a lady who would undertake to present her. There were as many intrigues and negotiations about this paltry piece of etiquette as if it had been an affair essential to the salvation of the country. At length a poor but titled widow was bribed to perform the task; and the King's daughters and grand-daughters were compelled to receive this infamous creature on terms of equality. Choiseul and his high-minded sister, the Duchess de Grammont,

refused to bow down before this unworthy favourite, and they were supported in their opposition by all the Princes of the Blood, except the Count de Provence (afterwards Louis XVIII.), who declared himself in favour of Madame du Barri. The Duke of Orleans was one of the most strenuous opponents of the new mistress. Several of the most stinging lampoons and pasquinades which appeared against her were known to have emanated from the Palais Royal; and it was suspected that the Duc de Choiseul greatly aided their circulation at Versailles.

Among the most servile flatterers of Madame du Barri were the Duc de Richelieu and the Chancellor Maupeou. The latter pretending that he was maternally descended from the Barrys of Barrymore, an ancient Jacobite family in Ireland, called her his cousin, and treated her as a near relation. On the other hand, she aided the chancellor in inducing Louis XV. to send the Parliament into exile. In order to strengthen the King's despotic resolutions, Maupeou purchased an admirable picture* of Charles I. by Vandyck, representing that unhappy monarch in the act of endeavouring to conceal himself from his persecutors. This picture was suspended in the countess's boudoir, just opposite the ottoman on which the King usually sat when he visited his mistress; and when the monarch fixed his eyes on the picture,

* This picture is now in the Louvre.

the countess said: "Well, now, *France,** you see this picture; if you allow your Parliament to have its own way it will cut off your head, just as the Parliament of England cut off the head of Charles!" These instigations to the violation of constitutional law and to misgovernment, were the result of weakness rather than wickedness. Madame du Barri was profoundly ignorant of political affairs. When she attended the royal councils in imitation of Madame de Pompadour, whom she had chosen for her model, her whole attention was given to that coquettish display of her charms which had won the heart of her royal lover. In fact, she was a mere instrument in the hands of Maupeou, Aiguillon, and Richelieu.†

To counteract the influence of this powerful mistress, the Duc de Choiseul resolved to marry the Dauphin to a princess who would be likely to support his influence. He selected MARIE ANTOINETTE, the

* It was one of her whims to call the King *La France*, as if he had been her valet, and to treat him as such. Louis XV. liked such familiarity, and often prepared coffee for himself and his mistress with his own royal hands. On such occasions she spoke to him with all the grossness belonging to her ancient profession. Several conversations of the kind have been preserved, but not one of them can be quoted.

† Dumouriez asserts that she was very vindictive. He had supped with her frequently before her elevation, and she expected that after that event he would have come to compliment her at Versailles, on his return from Poland. He refused to do so; whereupon she gave all the weight of her influence to his enemies, and thus enabled the Duc d'Aiguillon to have him committed to the Bastille.

youngest of the Austrian archduchesses, daughter of the Empress Maria Theresa and the Prince of Lorraine. Choiseul had been born in Lorraine and had preserved his respect for its ancient line of princes; and he had also been a strenuous supporter of the policy of Maria Theresa, and her able minister the Prince de Kaunitz. A very powerful party in France, headed by the Duc d'Aiguillon, opposed this marriage. To depress the influence of Austria had been the great object of the policy of Cardinal Richelieu, Cardinal Mazarin, and Louis XIV. So far as the Germanic policy of the Regent had any rational or intelligible plan, it was directed to protecting the minor States of Germany against the encroachments of the Empire, and Fleury had followed in the same track. Louis XV. would probably never have consented to the union had he not been anxious to mortify the King of Prussia, whose stinging sarcasms on the old King and his mistresses formed the amusement of Europe.* This ill-omened marriage took place at a time when the people of France were suffering under the pressure of severe famine; it was therefore with great indignation that they received the announcement that the King had resolved to celebrate the nuptials with

* Frederic used to divide the reign of Louis XV. into epochs, marked by the ascendancy of successive mistresses, and say, "Such an event happened in the reign of Petticoat the First (Madame de Châteauroux); such another in the reign of Petticoat the Second (Madame de Pompadour); and such another in the reign of Petticoat the Third (Madame du Barri)."

unexampled splendour, and had devoted twenty millions of livrés (800,000*l.*) to an idle display of magnificence. The King and the Dauphin went to meet the Archduchess at Compeigne; there the Duc de Choiseul was presented to her, and she received him, as her mother had advised her, with all the attentions deserved by a minister through whom she had been elevated to the throne of France. She supped at the *château de la Muette* with the King and the Dauphin. Even the most profligate of the courtiers were scandalised at seeing among the ladies invited to sit at the table with this young and virtuous princess * the Countess du Barri, holding the most conspicuous place. Two days afterwards, May 16th, 1770, the Dauphin and Dauphiness received the royal benediction. The *fêtes* at Versailles were not so splendid or so successful as their enormous cost led the people to expect, and they were further saddened by the multitude of miserable mendicants who roamed about the castle and the grounds. The entertainment given in honour of the marriage by the City of Paris, on the 30th of May, was marked by a horrible catastrophe. A splendid exhibition of fireworks was to take place at the *Place de Louis XV.*, now known as the *Place de la Concorde*, and it attracted an enormous crowd of spectators. The principal issue

* Marie Antoinette made no public remonstrance, but she bitterly complained of such degradation in private. Maria Theresa could hardly interfere, for she had addressed the King's former mistress, Madame de Pompadour, as her *dear cousin*.

from this place, the *Rue Royale*, was then in process of construction; deep holes for foundations and cellars gaped on each side of it; piles of wood, stone, and other building materials, rendered it nearly impassable, and on the opposite side the compact crowd was hemmed in by the river, for the bridge which now leads from the *Place de la Concorde* to the Chamber of Deputies was not then built. A movement of terror was suddenly communicated to the masses by an unexpected accident. The wood-work erected for some of the fireworks took fire; the crowd at first applauded, believing that the entertainments had begun, but soon the cries of the workmen perishing in the midst of the flames warned them that what they had taken for theatrical display was a sad reality. The crowds round the scaffolding attempted to make their escape, but were pushed back, swayed and crushed by the horses and carriages, and at the same time still further alarmed by the shouts of the pickpockets, who named every species of horror, in order to increase the disorder. It was more than half an hour before the multitude could disperse. One hundred and thirty-three dead bodies lay on the place; and when they had reckoned who were pushed over the parapet into the river, who had fallen into the pits in the Rue Royale, and how many had been stifled in other passages equally crowded and encumbered, it was calculated that the number of the victims of this calamitous day exceeded twelve hundred. The trouble and grief of the Dauphin and Dau-

phiness were great; even the heartless old King seemed to be affected by this calamity; but the relief given to the families thus left destitute was not at all proportioned to the necessity.

It is to be lamented that this fatal accident exposed the Royal Family to unjust and unmerited unpopularity, while the great efforts made by the Duke of Orleans and his son to relieve the distress and suffering rendered them deservedly the favourites of the populace. They opened the Palais Royal to the houseless and necessitous, and distributed food, medicine, and other relief with their own hands. On the other hand it was asserted that the Counts of Provence and Artois evinced great insensibility, and an utter disregard of the appeals made to them by the poor.

Maupeou, having in vain endeavoured to coerce the Parliament of Paris by a forcible registration of decrees in "a bed of justice," at length induced the King to arrest and exile the principal members of that body, and to substitute a new magistracy in their place. The Duc de Choiseul was at the same time deprived of his office and exiled to his country seat. A universal ferment immediately spread through the kingdom. Maupeou's magistracy became the object of universal ridicule, contempt, and execration; Versailles was abandoned by nearly all the nobles who were not obliged to attend there by virtue of their office, and the hotel of the Duc de Choiseul was more crowded than it had ever been during the time of his highest power. His departure from Paris had

all the appearance of a triumph, and the King was overwhelmed with petitions for leave to visit the fallen minister in his retirement at Chanteloup. The Princes of the Blood were convened by the Abbé Count de Clermont, who, though suffering under mortal disease, prepared an energetic protest against the unconstitutional measures of the King and "the triumvirate," as his ministers Maupeon, Aiguillon, and Terray were generally called. The Duke of Orleans, the Duc de Chartres, the Prince de Condé, the Duc de Bourbon, the Count de Clermont and the Prince de Conti signed this protestation, and were supported by thirteen out of the thirty-seven members of the ducal peerage. They did not, however, persevere; the King retrenched some of their emoluments, and they then submitted as humbly as they had protested boldly. The Prince of Condé and his son, the Duke of Bourbon, set the example of yielding, and they were followed by the Duke of Orleans and his son, the Duc de Chartres. The former retracted chiefly from a disinclination to take any active part in political life, and the latter because he was unwilling to be excluded from the dissipations of the Court. Worn out by his excesses, but still indulging in every form of sensuality and vice, Louis XV. became subject to fits of melancholy, during which he professed penitence for his sins, and a desire to atone for his offences. Madame du Barri was much alarmed at these symptoms, and exerted all her fascinations to prevent the old monarch from ending his life in devotion.

"On the 28th of April, 1774," says Besenval, "the King, who was at *le Petit Trianon*, in one of those excursions of two or three days with which he incessantly laboured to fill the void of his life and escape from lassitude and ennui, was suddenly taken ill. Madame du Barri, fearing that the least disquietude about his condition would revive in him that terror of the devil which revealed itself on the least pretext, and induced him to send for a confessor, wished him to remain at the Trianon. There, surrounded by that vile herd of courtiers which had declared in her favour, she had nothing to fear from the Royal Family, nor from the intrigues which might be raised against her. But the Duc d'Aiguillon, deeming that such conduct would be too hazardous, engaged her to bring the King back to Versailles, whither he returned, at the urgent request of La Martinière, his Majesty's chief surgeon, who gave his opinion on the matter with his usual honesty, frankness, and brutality."

On the 29th the King was bled, the nature of his disease not being then suspected. On the following day, it was known that he had been attacked by small-pox in its most virulent type. The ministers and the King himself were anxious that Madame du Barri should remain with him, though they were aware that no prelate would administer the sacraments to the patient until after her departure. On the 2nd of May she visited the King, who then seemed a little better, and diverted him by the recital of

some gross and licentious anecdotes. On the 4th she saw him for the last time; but even then neither had quite abandoned hope: they agreed that she should only retire to Ruelle, the seat of the Duc d'Aiguillon, about two leagues from Versailles.*

"So soon as it was known that the disease was the small-pox," says Besenval, "all communication was intercepted between the King and the Royal Family, none of whom had ever had the disease, with the exception of the Dauphiness. There were only Madame Adelaide, Madame Victoire, and Madame Sophie, who believed it to be their duty to shut themselves up with their father. This courage and filial piety, which certainly merited praise, did not produce any great

* Madame du Barri lived in retirement, neglected and almost forgotten, until the period of the Revolution, when she excited attention by vindicating the memory of her royal benefactor, and grieving over the misfortunes of his august family. The devotedness and respect which she then exhibited, although they should not be received as a compensation for the scandals and evils of a profligate life, may yet be allowed to lend some honour and interest to its unhappy termination. Fearing that she might be required by the republicans to give up the presents she had received from her royal lover, and which were denounced in the Jacobin journals as "spoils of the people" and "wages of iniquity," she circulated a report that she had been robbed of her diamonds, and then, it is said, contrived to smuggle them out of the country, and sell them in London, designing to devote the proceeds to the royal cause. She was arrested on this charge after her return, in July 1795, and in the following November she was condemned to death by the Revolutionary Tribunal for having conspired against the Republic, and worn mourning for "the tyrant" when in London. She met her fate with great firmness and fortitude.

effect; for this is an age disposed to blame with great severity, and for the same reason is disinclined to bestow praise, and besides, the object of such attachment was more than indifferent to the people, which weakened the effect of the sacrifice. Furthermore, the Princesses were not much liked: they had given, on too many occasions, proofs of weakness of character, and of the insincerity which is its consequence, not to have ceased to be interesting. . . . . The Princes were divided; the Duke of Orleans, the Prince of Condé and the Count de la Marche, shut themselves up with the King; the Ducs de Chartres and Bourbon remained with the Dauphin. The Prince de Conti had been forbidden to appear at Court."

Before Madame du Barri had departed, the Archbishop of Paris arrived at the palace: a dispute arose about administering the sacraments, which some opposed, as likely to alarm the King with premature fears of death. The Duke of Orleans believed it his duty to consult Madame Adelaide on the subject; "because" says Besenval, "the Dauphin was counted as nothing by everybody, and no one seemed to bestow a single thought on the possibility that in a few days he would become their master. The Duke of Orleans asked the Princess what she thought about the sacraments, and whether the time had not arrived when they ought to be administered. She replied, that the physicians were the proper judges of this question, and they were immediately assembled. They unanimously declared, that in the first instance they had

themselves proposed it to the chief officers of State, but that these gentlemen had declined to take such a responsibility upon themselves; that at the present moment suppuration was in progress, and that any sudden or strong emotion might cause a revolution in the disease, and prove a death-blow to the King. Everybody knew that the Duc d'Aiguillon * had dictated this reply. If all the physicians were not entirely at his disposal, certainly the greater number of them were devoted to him, and the rest were afraid to speak. Madame Adelaide, who was also grievously suspected of having been gained over by the minister, eagerly seized the pretext of the danger which her father might incur; and saying she feared that the archbishop, who had just arrived, might make some imprudent advances, she supplicated the Duke of Orleans not to quit him all the time he remained in the King's chamber, and to hinder him from saying anything which might alarm the sensitive monarch."

Madame du Barri had not been more than two or three hours gone when the King asked for her. M. de Duras, the gentleman-in-waiting, a declared enemy of the mistress and the triumvirate, informed the King that she had departed, and added, that a confessor was in waiting. It is probable that he gave this hint at the suggestion of the Duke of Orleans, who had brought the Abbé Mondou to the palace,

* It must be observed that Besenval was devoted to the Duc de Choiseul, and therefore the political, if not the personal, enemy of the Duc d'Aiguillon.

and who had exhibited great anxiety lest the King should become delirious before the rites of the Church could be administered. On the other hand, the Duc d'Aiguillon and his friends exerted every means in their power to hide from the King the danger of his situation, and they would probably have succeeded, had it not been for the firmness of M. de Duras, and the unusual energy of the Duke of Orleans. At their urgent request, the King consented to see the Abbé Mondou.

"The King," says Besenval, "remained about an hour alone with the Abbé Mondou, and when his attendants were again admitted into his chamber, declared that he would receive the sacraments on the following morning. La Martinière, the first surgeon to the household, represented to him that, as he had performed the duty of confession, it would be desirable for him to complete what he had so well begun, and not to have his repose disturbed twice. The King, without making any reply, desired that the Duc d'Aiguillon should be summoned.

"Very few people know that the King sent for his minister to inform him that his confessor had declared he would not give him absolution so long as his mistress remained so near him, and to order D'Aiguillon to communicate to Madame du Barri, on the part of his Majesty, that it would be desirable for her to remove to Chinon, a country-seat of the Duc de Richelieu.

"D'Aiguillon, feeling that all was lost if this removal took place, replied to the King, that he must

have misunderstood the abbé; that he would go at once and consult the Cardinal de la Roche Aimon, and the Abbé Mondou, with whom he would arrange the affair. In fact, he hastened to the cardinal, over whom he prevailed very easily. He had far more trouble with the Abbé Mondou. Supported, however, by the cardinal, he succeeded with him also; but there were shrewd suspicions respecting the nature of the persuasions he employed. All we know certainly is, that the King received the communion on the morning of the 6th, at an early hour. He exhibited great impatience for the arrival of the sacraments, often sending M. de Beauvoir to the window to see if they were coming.

"It was the Cardinal de la Roche Aimon who had administered them in right of his rank as Chief Almoner. It was remarked, that when the ceremony was over, as the cardinal turned round to take his departure, the Abbé Mondou pulled him by his rochet, and whispered something in his ear. The cardinal immediately raising his voice, said aloud, 'Although the King is accountable for his actions to God alone, he declares that he repents of having given scandal to his subjects, and that he only desires his recovery in order that he may become the support of religion and the blessing of his people.' On this the Duc de Richelieu heaped upon the cardinal the most insulting epithets in a tone loud enough to be heard by all the company."

Matters remained in this state until the evening of

the 9th, when the King seemed likely not to survive the night, and extreme unction was administered. Gangrene had commenced, and the infection in the room was frightful. He appeared, however, to rally on the morning of the 10th, but it was only for a short time; he died on the evening of that day, and his body was already so putrescent that it was found necessary to enclose it in a double coffin of lead, which did not entirely prevent pestilential exhalations. More than fifty persons caught the small-pox, from having merely traversed the gallery of Versailles, and ten of these died. The King's three daughters were also attacked, and very narrowly escaped with their lives: every one who could, fled from Versailles as from a pest-house. The body was borne to St. Denis with great precipitation and without pomp; while France rejoiced at being delivered from a sovereign who had degraded the monarchy and almost ruined the country.

So early as 1763, the Duke of Orleans had withdrawn from public affairs, because the jealousy of the elder branch of the House of Bourbon refused him any high office. Like his father and grandfather, he delighted in the company of men of letters, but he chiefly cultivated dramatic literature. Collé, Saurin, and Carmontelle were his intimate friends; he erected for them a private theatre in his château, where most of the pieces were represented for the first time, the Prince himself being one of the actors. Here he met and fell in love with Madame de Montesson, widow of a general officer, and aunt of the celebrated Countess

de Genlis. To her the duke, by the King's permission, was privately married April 24th, 1773. But this marriage was never publicly or officially recognised; it was analogous to that between Louis XIV. and Madame de Maintenon. Such an equivocal position naturally exposed the lady to malevolent insinuations; she could not enter the House of Orleans without laying herself open to the calumnies which seemed to be its inheritance. Still her justification was in the affection of the Prince, who gave her the most touching proofs of his attachment. For instance, he gave up his residence at the Palais Royal because she could not there hold the rank his love wished to confer upon her. For the same reason he sold his superb mansion at St. Cloud to Marie Antoinette, retiring with Madame de Montesson to the castle of St. Assise, which he had purchased for her. He died there in her arms from an attack of gout, November 18th, 1785.

The funeral oration of this Prince was pronounced at Notre Dame by the Abbé St. Maury, who appears to have solicited this honour. Baron Grimm has given some details of this extraordinary oration, which, in spite of its length, are far too curious and interesting to be omitted.

"The Abbé Maury gave a description equally vague and pompous of the benevolence and goodness of the Prince; he charitably praised him for having preferred the charm of private virtues to that glory of heroes, *with which he was early disgusted, at least on his own account*, but which he ceased not to admire in others;

for this virtuous Prince always took pleasure in honouring those whom he regarded as the hope or support of his country. This gave the preacher an opportunity of introducing detailed eulogies on the Bailli de Suffrein, the Count d'Estaing, the Marquis de Bouillé, the Marquis de Lafayette, &c. It is easy to understand the view taken of such an oration by those who were present at the ceremony expressly to offer their homage to the memory of the best of princes; to exhibit their gratitude for his kindness, and their sorrow for his loss. What would be felt still more deeply is, how much the Duke and Duchess of Orleans must have been surprised to find that the incident in their father's life, on which the orator deemed it his duty to dwell with most complacency and interest, was his marriage with Madame de Montesson. He compared it to that of Louis XIV. and Madame de Maintenon; this was the most brilliant passage of his discourse,—a passage so highly wrought, that some people said, it might have been taken rather for a panegyric on Madame de Montesson than a funeral oration on the Duke of Orleans. What is certain, and what has been deemed most reprehensible is, that the author, on his own private authority, did not hesitate to call her the Prince's companion and wife. When the Duke of Orleans (son of the deceased), in the presence of the Chancellor M. de Belleisle, asked the abbé by what right he had ventured to call Madame de Montesson his father's wife, the preacher boldly replied that he deemed it right to proclaim

truth from the pulpit; that the letter of the late King giving his consent to the marriage was known to all mankind, and that he himself had read it at the time. 'Louis XV.' replied the Prince, 'gave the late Duke of Orleans a letter for the Archbishop of Paris. Louis XV. wrote it with his own hand, and gave it to my father in my presence, enjoining me to bring it back to him so soon as the ceremony was completed. It only went from my father's hand into those of the archbishop, and I received it from him at the end of the ceremony to bring it back to the King.' The abbé made all sorts of confused excuses, none of which the Duke of Orleans would receive, and orders were issued by the King absolutely prohibiting the printing of this funeral oration.

"*February 17th*, 1786.—The Abbé Maury wound up his discourse by praying that the grandchildren of the deceased should inherit his virtues; and he not only said nothing in favour of the Duke of Orleans, but he administered to him no very indirect reproof, dwelling in several passages on the respect which princes ought to have for the public, and on the excessive fear which the late Prince had of offending or outraging public opinion.* It is established that the Duke of Orleans, on leaving the church, having been

* Elsewhere Grimm has recorded that the object of the preacher throughout his discourse was to assail the young Duke of Orleans, by dwelling on those traits in his father's character which were most unlike those of the son; and especially by representing him to the Court, where he already had many enemies, as one who had the effrontery to pay no regard to public

asked by the archbishop if he had been pleased with the funeral oration, cried out, in the presence of several witnesses, 'So far am I from being satisfied that I am thoroughly displeased with it, as I shall not fail to let the orator know, and I sincerely hope it will not be printed as it has been delivered.'

"*February 20th.* — The Duke of Orleans, though he has good reason to be deeply and personally vexed by the proceedings of the Abbé St. Maury, preserves a profound silence on the subject. The only passage he exerts himself to have withheld from publication is that concerning his father's marriage with Madame de Montesson; a marriage which was neither approved by the nation, nor by the King, nor by the family of Orleans, and which the late duke himself had deemed it advisable to hide beneath the shades of the deepest mystery.

"Besides, the culpability of the Abbé Maury is rendered much greater by his having read this very paragraph to M. Fontaine, then the private secretary of the Duke of Orleans. M. Fontaine had warned the orator how displeasing it would be to the Prince, and had prayed, supplicated, and conjured him to suppress the passage. The Abbé Maury had also read the entire of his discourse to Madame de Montesson, who, as may well be imagined, took good care not to give him the same advice."

opinion. Libels were circulated even thus early, reviving all the old calumnies against the Regent, and attributing the same deeds and designs to the young Duke of Orleans.

Although the grandson of the Regent had no very brilliant qualities, his amiable manners and kindliness of disposition had rendered him so generally popular that he was called "King of Paris," and "King of Bagnolet," in opposition to the King of Versailles, whose habits of etiquette and sensual indulgence had withdrawn him from all contact with the masses of the population. His literary tastes were elegant if not profound, and for the drama he had almost a passion. Thus his pursuits separated him entirely from the Court after the death of Madame de Pompadour, the only one of the mistresses of Louis XV. who had any relish for literature. His popularity contributed to keep alive the ancient jealousies between the elder and the younger branches of the House of Bourbon. The fidelity of the Regent, the piety of his son, and the gentle simplicity of his grandson were not sufficient to remove the hereditary suspicions with which Louis XV. viewed the dynastic position of the Orleans family, and the favour with which the last two princes of that line were regarded by the citizens of Paris, and indeed by all France except the province of Brittany, where the execution of Pontcallec and his companions left in the popular mind a rancorous hatred of the Regent and his descendants.

CHAPTER VIII.

LOUIS PHILIPPE JOSEPH OF ORLEANS (ÉGALITÉ).— HIS BIRTH.—ANECDOTE OF HIS BOYHOOD.—HIS EDUCATION.—THE PETIT SOUPER AT THE MARRIAGE OF THE COUNT DE FITZ-JAMES.—THE FREEMASONS AND THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.—THE COUNT D'ARTOIS.—HIS INSULT TO THE DUCHESSE DE BOURBON.—HIS DUEL.—PUBLIC OPINION OF HIS CONDUCT. —PHILIPPE ÉGALITÉ AND MARIE ANTOINETTE. — HORSE-RACING IN FRANCE.—THE DAUPHIN AND THE DUC D'ANGOULÊME.—FRANKLIN AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.—ENMITY OF LOUIS XVIII. TO MARIE ANTOINETTE. — RECEPTION OF VOLTAIRE IN PARIS. — THE DUC DE CHARTRES AND MADAME DE GENLIS.

We have seen in the preceding chapters that there had been a constant jealousy between the elder and younger branches of the House of Bourbon, and that this jealousy was closely connected with what was called "the secret" of Louis XIV. After examining the doubts raised respecting that monarch's legitimacy, we have come to the conclusion that they were in no wise connected with "the secret," and that they were in all probability calumnies devised by the exiled Huguenots, or other victims of that monarch's tyranny. We apprehend that "the secret" was simply the necessity of adopting a system which might repress the ambition of a line of princes so closely allied to the throne that they stood more than once in the position of heirs presumptive. Such a policy would naturally be suggested to Louis XIV. by the wars of the Fronde,

and the other civil commotions which had afflicted his childhood; and it is by no means improbable that it has been handed down as a traditional bequest to his descendants. This is more likely when we find that this hereditary jealousy of the House of Orleans was exhibited, not merely by the Bourbons of France, but by the sovereigns of the same branch on the throne of Spain; so that, in fact, there appears to have been nothing less than a coalition of the Bourbons of the elder line against the younger.

We have not disguised the vices which sullied and disgraced the first two princes of the House of Orleans, and several of the ladies of their family; but we have seen that calumny not only misrepresented and exaggerated their profligacy, but even attributed to them the most revolting crimes. There was too constant and consistent a depreciation and vilification of the members of the House of Orleans not to inspire a suspicion that it was systematic and premeditated. It is but justice to give such considerations their due weight, when we are about to enter on the history of an unfortunate prince, on whom has been charged not merely all the vice and profligacy of his family, but the entire responsibility of the crimes of a most wicked generation of cotemporaries.

Louis Philippe Joseph, of Orleans, was born at the palace of St. Cloud, April 13, 1747. His father, notwithstanding his alleged weakness of character, being convinced of the efficacy of inoculation by the memoir published on the subject by the famous Condamine,

urged that the experiment should be tried on his children. The Duchess vehemently resisted the proposal, and burst into a passion of tears at the bare mention of such an operation; but the firmness of the duke prevailed, and his example greatly contributed to the general adoption of the custom in France. Had the Duchess been able to look into futurity, she would have had more cause for tears; for one of these children was the Duc de Chartres, the subject of this chapter, and the other, married at an early age to the Prince de Condé, was the mother of the hapless Duc d'Enghien.

An interesting anecdote is related of the boyhood of the Duc de Chartres. When about nine years of age, he had observed at the public receptions of the Palais Royal an old chevalier of the order of St. Louis, whose dress, though neat, indicated that he was in narrow circumstances. At this period the Palais Royal was a kind of Court for those noblemen and gentlemen who were not sufficiently rich to bear the expenses of a presentation at Versailles. One day the young Prince presented this gentleman with a large bag of sweetmeats, which the old soldier, who was known to have a taste for these delicacies, thankfully accepted. On examining the bag, he found forty louis-d'or under the sweetmeats; and believing that they had been placed there by mistake, he brought them back to the Palais Royal. There he learned that it was no mistake, the young Prince having adopted this delicate method of bestowing the savings from his allowance

on an old officer to whom his country had proved ungrateful.

The education of the Duc de Chartres was entrusted to the Marquis de Pont Saint Maurice, who bestowed far more attention on the physical culture than on the intellectual or moral training of his pupil. The Prince grew up one of the finest young men in France. His figure was handsome and well proportioned; his port had a singular air of majesty; and the suavity of his manners suggested a comparison with the Regent, whom unfortunately he resembled in other less worthy particulars.

Uncontrolled by his father, with an almost unlimited command of money, and living in the midst of the profligate Court of Louis XV., it is not surprising that the Duc de Chartres indulged largely in the dissipations by which he was surrounded. Like the Regent, he took no care to hide his extravagances, but rather prided himself on the shock they gave to the sober and the virtuous; like his ancestor he boasted of vicious actions which he never committed; and, like him, he was tracked by the calumnies which he wantonly provoked.

At the marriage of the Count de Fitz-James, the Duc de Chartres gave a *petit souper*, which revived the memory of the orgies of the Regency. All the mistresses of the Prince and of the dissipated young nobles, recently married, or on the point of being so, were assembled there to meet their protectors. The room was hung with black, all the ladies and gentle-

men being in deep mourning. At a given signal the lamps, which were held by Cupids, were extinguished, and torches, supported by Hymens, were kindled in their stead. The entire feast was an allegory of the struggle between these rival deities. Bachaumont, who relates the anecdote, informs us that it was intended to renew this farce on a more extended scale, when the Duc de Chartres himself was to be married; but the purpose, if it were ever entertained, appears to have been abandoned.

In the preceding chapter we have mentioned the circumstances which led to his marriage with the wealthy heiress of the Duc de Penthièvre. During the ceremony, he gave a curious instance of his disregard for courtly etiquette. By mistake he took his place on the wrong side of the altar when he went to receive the nuptial benediction. The error having been pointed out, he bounded lightly over the bride's long train to his right place, an example of frivolous demeanour which gave great offence to the solemn veterans of the Court. They were still more scandalized when he took his Duchess, his Aunt, the Princess de Conti, the Princess de Lamballe, and their ladies-in-waiting, to visit some popular diversions, not of the most respectable kind, in the Gardens de Mousseau. To prevent their being recognised on their return, the Duc de Chartres mounted the leading horses as postilion, the Princess de Lamballe acted as coachman; the Duchess de Chartres and the Princess de Conti sat inside the carriage, and the Countess de Hunolstein

mounted behind as a footman. In this guise they drove at full gallop through the Faubourg St. Honoré; and it was immediately reported that the duke had scandalized all Paris by making a public exhibition of his harem.

We have already noticed the protest signed by the Princes of the Blood in 1771, in which both the Duke of Orleans and the Duc de Chartres joined, and their subsequent retractation after the death of the Count de Clermont. The Count had been the grand-master of the Freemasons in France, and the Duc de Chartres was elected his successor; but as he had not attained the age prescribed by the statutes of the institution, the Duc de Luxembourg was appointed administrator in the interim. Among the many absurdities propagated at a later date was the assertion that the Freemasons had already planned the French Revolution, and that the Duc de Chartres joined in the conspiracy when he became grand-master. It is only necessary to notice that the Duc de Luxembourg, his deputy, was president of the Order of the Noblesse in 1789, and was the most vehement opponent of the Revolution; that nearly all the members of the lodge to which the Duke belonged, emigrated; and that only one of them ever took an active part in the Revolution, that one being the Duc de Lauzun, better known as Marshal Biron.

At the outset of his career, so far was the Duc de Chartres from being on bad terms with the elder branch of the Bourbons that he was accused of being too weakly attached to them and their favourites. We

have seen that the Princess de Lamballe, the widow of the Duc de Penthièvre's son, was one of the party in the hazardous adventure at Mousseau ; and we will not stop to refute that most absurd of calumnies which accused the Duchess of having poisoned her husband, the true cause of whose death has been narrated in the preceding chapter. The most intimate friend of the Duc de Chartres in the wild days of his youth was the Count d'Artois (Charles X.), for some of whose disgraceful escapades he had to pay the penalty. One of these related by Bachaumont deserves to be transcribed.

"It must be premised that a young Madame de Canillac, a very beautiful person, who entered into the household of the Duchesse de Bourbon, (only sister of the Duc de Chartres,) shortly after her marriage became more pleasing to the princely bridegroom than the Duchess thought proper to allow. Indignant that her august spouse should carry on an intrigue under her very eyes, the Duchess expressed her resentment so very warmly to Madame de Canillac that she found it necessary to quit her situation. Subsequently she became intimate with the Count d'Artois, who gave her his hand at a masked ball. Here she pointed out the Duchesse de Bourbon to his Royal Highness ; and he, rather elevated with wine, said to her, 'I'm going to avenge you!' Intercepting the mask who conducted the Duchess, he pretended to mistake her for a woman of no character, and addressed her in the most outrageous and insulting terms. The Duchess,

furious, and, not aware with whom she had to deal, resolved to know, and lifted up the beard of the Count's mask. Boiling with rage, he seized the mask of the Duchess with both hands, and broke it across her face. She had recognised his Royal Highness, and believing herself unknown, deemed it prudent to let the matter drop. Unfortunately the Count d'Artois boasted of his exploit; the whole House of Condé was at once in arms and went to demand satisfaction from the King for such an insult. His Majesty, Louis XVI., replied that his brother was a blockhead; —but he has not yet made any satisfaction, which grieves the whole House of Condé. Madame the Duchess of Bourbon refuses to appear in public since this event, and the Prince, her husband, has waited on Maurepas (the prime minister) to place in his hands his memorial to the King, and has added, that if his Majesty does not think fit to give him satisfaction, he will regard the refusal as a permission to take it himself. It is believed that the Orleans branch, to which the Duchesse de Bourbon belongs, since she is the sister of the Duc de Chartres, will also interfere."

This entry is dated the 14th of March, 1778. On the 16th of March the history is thus continued:

"The King (Louis XVI.), fearing the consequences of the vengeance which the House of Condé breathed, and in which all the Princes of the Blood participated, had ordered the Chevalier de Crussol, a captain in the Guards of the Count d'Artois, not to lose sight of his Royal Highness. It is said that this Prince has recog-

nised his error, and that he has consented to make suitable reparation to the Duchesse de Bourbon by declaring that he never intended to insult her, and that he did not recognise her at the ball. This satisfaction was to take place yesterday at Versailles, in presence of all the Royal Family on one side, and of the Princes of the Blood on the other. This confession must have been the more humiliating as it was in the saloon of Madame Jules de Polignac, the Queen's favourite, that the Count d'Artois had boasted of the insult, because he knew that her Majesty was not very partial to the Duchesse de Bourbon."

From a subsequent entry in this interesting diary, we find that the expected scene of reparation and reconciliation did not take place. Bachaumont records :

"*March* 17th.—The scene of reconciliation at Versailles with the Duc de Bourbon not having taken place, that Prince has formally manifested his displeasure to the Count d'Artois by very significant gestures. His Royal Highness has at length yielded to the advice of his council, and even to the insinuations of the Chevalier de Crussol, captain of his Guards, who, when announcing to him the orders he had received from the King to keep a strict watch on the Count and not to quit him for a moment, added, '*But if I had the honour to be the Count d'Artois, within twenty four-hours the Chevalier de Crussol should cease to be captain of my Guards.*'

"On Sunday the Prince communicated to the Duc

de Bourbon, either by letter or by a third party, that he would take a walk on Monday morning in the *Bois de Boulogne*. The latter went thither so early as eight, but the Prince did not arrive, until ten. They went aside to a sequestered spot and commenced a combat in their shirts, several persons looking on. The duel lasted six minutes, and they fought so equally and so skilfully that not a single drop of blood was shed. Then the Chevalier de Crussol interfered, and in the name of the King ordered them to separate. They were then reconciled and embraced each other. In the afternoon, the Count d'Artois visited the Duchesse de Bourbon. During the combat the gates of the Bois de Boulogne were closed, but it was already crowded with people. The Duc de Chartres was employed in tracing out the course for a horse-race, when the tidings were brought him, and the Duke of Orleans was rehearsing a comedy with Madame de Montesson.

"This news was soon spread through Paris. The Duchesse de Bourbon, who up to this time had received no visitors, but, contrary to etiquette, made her Swiss write down the names of all who called on her, issued from her retirement and visited the theatre, where all the spectators received her with clapping of hands so loud, so protracted, so marked, and so general, that she was melted even to tears. It is reported that she said to his Majesty that she required satisfaction less as a princess than as a woman; for that the meanest of her sex ought to be everywhere respected, especially if masked.

"The Queen arrived, some minutes afterwards, accompanied by Madame (the Countess de Provence). Her Majesty was but feebly applauded in comparison with the Duchesse de Bourbon. It is known that the Queen declared she would not intermeddle in the quarrel.

"The Duc de Bourbon and the Prince de Condé arrived in their turn to receive the homage of the public. Scarcely had they appeared behind the Duchesse de Bourbon, when the clapping of hands was renewed louder than ever, accompanied by exclamations of '*Bravo! bravissimo!*' which quite overwhelmed father and son.

"Monsieur (the Count de Provence, afterwards Louis XVIII.) produced but little sensation; and the Count d'Artois arriving the last, only received as much applause as decency required; and as the greater part even of this came from the pit, it was probably purchased.

"The Queen manifested much ill humour during the entire play.

"When the piece was finished, the Duc de Bourbon hastened to the Opera, which was not yet over. The applause, the *bravos* and *bravissimos* were here renewed, and quite completed the Duke's satisfaction.

"The Duc de Chartres did not appear at the theatre; he feared he would have had to play no very pleasant or creditable part. The public learned, with great indignation, that after the insult offered to his sister he had continued to live on the same intimate terms as

before with the Count d'Artois, and had been his companion in the chase."

The last entry regarding this discreditable affair is as follows :—

"*March 22nd.*—As the Duc de Chartres has acted a very discreditable part in the affair of the Princes, it is said that he is the only person who came off unwounded from the combat. The neutrality he observed is attributed to his ambition. His desire to figure in the marine induced him to sacrifice the interests of his sister. He said, as an excuse, that the Duchesse de Bourbon was neither his daughter nor his wife, and for this reason he was refused admission to the Palais Bourbon when he came to pay a visit. His courtiers pretend that the King had intreated him not to break off his intimacy with the Count d'Artois, but to use his influence to bring him back to order and reason, and to induce him to resort to proceedings which his misconduct had rendered necessary. His Majesty feared that he might compromise himself if he spoke to the Count d'Artois on the subject; and that the vivacity of his Royal Highness might oblige him to punish the offence more severely than he wished. Moreover, the monarch expected a good result from the influence which the companion of his pleasures had over the Count d'Artois. The public, quite ignorant of these anecdotes, judged harshly of the Duc de Chartres, and openly blamed him : indeed it will be some time before he recovers his popularity."

No calumnies have been more studiously circulated

against Philip Egalité than charges of enmity and malice towards Marie Antoinette from the time of her arrival in France to the end of her life. As Duc de Chartres, he was certainly not the foremost of her persecutors; her worst enemies in the early period of her marriage, were her brothers-in-law the Counts de Provence and Artois, who took advantage of her many levities to prejudice the mind of her husband against her. At her first reception after the death of Louis XV., when the peers and peeresses came before her in deep mourning, she was so far from observing the usual etiquette on such an occasion, that she was laughing the whole time at the childish tricks of one of her ladies in waiting, who sat down on the carpet behind the Queen's chair, and played manifold pranks to disturb the gravity of the assembly. At Marly she staid up after the King had retired to rest to see the sun rise, and the Duc de Chartres was one of the party. An atrocious libel in verse, entitled, "Aurora; or Sunrise," appeared soon after in Paris; and the Duc de Chartres was treated in it with at least as much severity as the Queen. It was by the Duchesse de Chartres that the celebrated milliner, Mademoiselle Bertin, was introduced to the Queen; and this Princess was as ardent as Marie Antoinette in the patronage of new fashions.

For a long time after his marriage, Louis XVI. exhibited an indifference, almost amounting to aversion, for his beautiful wife: he never visited her except in public. His brothers believing that the succession was

secured to them, laboured to perpetuate those feelings, especially the Count d'Artois, the only one who had issue. Indeed, Madame Campan assures us that intrigues were commenced, having for their object to send the Queen back to Germany. In these intrigues the Duc de Chartres had no interest and no share. The birth of a son (the Duc d'Angoulême) to the Count d'Artois was an effectual bar to the chances of an Orleans succession. His sister-in-law, the Princess de Lamballe, was the Queen's chief favourite, and the Duchess of Chartres was the chosen companion of her private dinner-parties. Indeed, at this period the chief passion of the Duc de Chartres was racing, which he had imbibed during a short visit to England. In the "Secret Correspondence of Louis XVI.," we find the following, under the date 1775 :—

"Yesterday the French Newmarket was opened; only four competitors appeared, but they were of the most elevated rank: they were the Count d'Artois, the Duc de Chartres, the Duc de Lauzun, and the Marquis de Conflans. The Duc de Lauzun's jockey very cleverly won the prize, or rather the "pool," which was twenty-five louis for each horse entered. The winning horse is of good Norman blood. The race began at one o'clock, and lasted only six minutes though the space gone over was very considerable, for the horses had to go three times round the plain of Sablons. A pavilion was erected in the middle for the Queen, who was bright as the day, and the day was charming. She took the greatest possible plea-

sure in this spectacle. She caused the little English jockey who rode the winning horse to be presented to her; congratulated the Duc de Lauzun, and consoled the vanquished with infinite grace, — in a word, nothing was wanting to render her perfectly amiable."

From the day that Marie Antoinette became a mother, Louis XVI. exhibited the most romantic affection towards her. Their first child was a daughter, the since celebrated Duchesse d'Angoulême;* and the second was the Dauphin, whose birth filled all France

* During the Queen's first pregnancy, a gifted lady of the Court predicted that the child would be a boy. When a daughter was born she sent a quatrain to the Queen, which may be thus rendered :—

"Ah! madame, your fairy her fault must relate,
But as a mistake it can only be reckon'd;
For when she consulted the volume of Fate,
Instead of the first page she open'd the second."

This reminds us of a similar quatrain on the birth of Marie Antoinette herself. Maria Theresa, during her pregnancy, wagered two ducats with one of her courtiers that the child would be a girl, he maintaining that it would be a boy. On the birth of the princess he consulted Metastasio, declaring that he did not know how to present the Empress with so trifling a sum as two ducats. Metastasio advised that they should be wrapped up in complimentary verses, which he dictated impromptu. They were to the following effect :—

"My wager is lost, for a daughter is born,
And my bet must be paid, though the loss is a pain;
But if virtues like yours should the infant adorn,
Then the whole human race will partake in the gain."

Weber, who records both these anecdotes, adds, "The poets could not have foreseen the sad fate reserved for the daughter of Maria Theresa, and heiress of her virtues."

with rejoicing. He was born October 22nd, 1781. When, according to usage, he was exhibited in his cradle to the Princes of the Blood, the Duc d'Angoulême, meeting his father, the Count d'Artois, at the entrance of the apartment, said to him, "My God, papa, how little my cousin is!" The Prince almost involuntarily replied, "Some day or other, my child, you will find him great enough." The Duc de Chartres gave several magnificent entertainments in honour of this event; for his father had granted him the Palais Royal that he might himself live in retirement with Madame de Montesson.

The hospitalities of the Palais Royal were universally celebrated. Most of the learned men of Paris assembled there daily. Buffon was the most intimate friend of the Duc de Chartres, in whose company he spent all the time he could spare from his studies. Franklin, also, was a frequent visitor at the Palais Royal, and from the influence of the men of letters he met there, he diffused that sympathy for the revolted States of America, which, by rendering republicanism popular, made the subsequent Revolution inevitable.

At this time the Count de Provence, afterwards Louis XVIII., was the declared enemy of Marie Antoinette. At the baptism of her daughter, when he acted as godfather, the officiating chaplain having asked him the name of the child, he replied in a sardonic tone and with the most insulting affectation, "That is not the first question you should ask me; you should have first inquired the name of the

father and mother." Astonished, confused, and quite perplexed, the priest observed that such a question was only put when a doubt about the parentage existed; "Now," added he, "that is not the case here; every one knows that the Princess is the daughter of the King and Queen." "Pray, is that also your opinion?" resumed the Count, turning to the curé of Notre Dame, who was present. The curé coldly answered "Generally speaking, your Royal Highness is correct; but in this particular instance, I would not have acted differently from the chaplain."* It was even reported, and generally believed, that the Count de Provence and twelve peers had signed a protest, contesting the legitimacy of the Prince, a few days after his birth.†

The arrival of Voltaire in Paris, in the spring of 1778, produced a powerful sensation. All Paris followed him with applause and adulation; his picture was hung above the seat he occupied in the Academy; a eulogy was pronounced upon him by M. d'Alembert; he was crowned with laurel at the theatre; his bust was exhibited on the stage, also crowned, and the actors and actresses forming a semicircle round it, chaunted hymns in his praise. One thing was wanting to gratify the vain old man,—he was not received at Court. Louis XVI. refused to admit the champion of infidelity to his presence; but the Count d'Artois and the Duc de Chartres were both present at the honours bestowed on him in the theatre. Voltaire

* Mémoires Secrets de Bachaumont.

† Mémores de M. Souligné.

was so gratified by this homage, that he solicited and obtained permission to visit the Duc de Chartres and his children at the Palais Royal.

Voltaire paid an early visit to the Duke, who would not allow him to stand in his presence, declaring that he wished to enjoy as much of his conversation as possible. The Duchesse de Chartres, who was in bed at the time, informed of the arrival of the visitor, hastened down to receive him, half-dressed. Voltaire asked to see the children, then very young: he took particular notice of the eldest boy, then Duc de Valois, but subsequently Louis Philippe, King of the French, and said that he reminded him of the Regent.

The unhappy intimacy between the Duc de Chartres and Madame de Genlis began early in life. She was the niece of Madame Montesson, the unacknowledged wife of the Duke of Orleans; and her brother, Ducrest, was the chief manager of the pecuniary concerns of the Palais Royal. She entered into the ducal household soon after the marriage of the Duke with the heiress of Penthièvre, as a kind of literary companion and political adviser, and her first pupil was the Duchesse de Chartres herself. She subsequently became the secretary of her illustrious pupil, and the chief confidential adviser of the Prince. For some years she retained the undivided confidence of both her patrons, for the Duchess was too pure-minded to entertain jealousy, and too virtuous to suspect guilt in others. She introduced Madame de Genlis at Court; and, as Madame Campan informs us, brought upon herself a sharp

rebuke for attempting to force her favourite a little too obtrusively on the notice of the Queen. But there was another person who took a more suspicious view of the nature of the connection between the Duc de Chartres and Madame de Genlis. The Princess de Lamballe, the sister-in-law of the Duchess, early warned her that her secretary was her rival; and when she found that the Duchess obstinately refused to believe such a breach of friendship possible, the Princess communicated the matter to the Queen, who thenceforth treated Madame de Genlis with a cutting coldness, which that clever but conceited lady could not easily endure. The Duc de Chartres shared her resentment; indeed there seems every probability that to the fatal influence of Madame de Genlis must be attributed the rancorous hatred which succeeded the early friendship between the Duc de Chartres and Marie Antoinette.

At what precise time the intimacy between the Duc de Chartres and Madame de Genlis passed the bounds of innocence is not easily ascertained. That it transgressed those limits has been established by evidence, amounting to the highest degree of probability. There can be little doubt that they were the parents of a lady whose misfortunes have rendered her too prominent in history to be passed over in silence. We allude to Pamela, surnamed Seymour, about whose birth Madame de Genlis has published a romance so utterly absurd and so inconsistent with itself, that we never heard of any one who believed it.

The libellers of Philippe Egalité—and their name is

legion—have very unnecessarily exaggerated the criminality of his intrigues with Madame de Genlis. They speak of their "orgies" and their open defiance of public opinion. Whatever may have been the guilt of the pair, it is unquestionable that they took extraordinary pains to preserve appearances. When Madame de Genlis ceased to be secretary to the duchess, she became the governess in the family; and we know that Louis Philippe always spoke of her attentions to his childhood with affectionate gratitude, though he never pretended to be ignorant of her wrongs towards his mother. All cotemporaries unite in praising Madame de Genlis for fascinating powers of conversation, great range of imagination, dramatic talent, and skill in music. Her "Memoirs" and her "Tales" shew that her mind was of a masculine cast. She felt keenly the position in which she had been placed by birth, and, like many others, became a violent republican, more out of jealousy of those above, than from sympathy with those below her. She was vain, conceited, intoxicated by the flatteries of interested parasites, and easily deluded to be the tool of artful politicians, who pretended to have chosen her for their guide.

It cannot be denied that the Duc de Chartres was a dissipated prince, but certainly not more so than most of his cotemporaries; and not so much so as the Count d'Artois, whose escapades have been allowed to sink into oblivion. There is not a particle of evidence that he entertained a thought or a hope of succeeding to the crown, while there is abundant proof that the

Counts de Provence and d'Artois looked upon the Monarchy as their inheritance, and endeavoured to secure it, first by alienating the King from the Queen, and then by raising suspicions against the legitimacy of the Dauphin. As to the tales that have been told of Philip Egalité having been the ally and companion of burglars and pickpockets, and of being the assassin of his mistress, they are the mere inventions of party spite. He was a man of pleasure, not of gross crime; he may have been vicious and a libertine, but he certainly was not a monster. Had he died before the French Revolution, his name would not have descended to posterity loaded with all manner of detestable and improbable accusations.

CHAPTER IX.

NAVAL CAREER OF THE DUC DE CHARTRES (PHILIPPE ÉGALITÉ.)—HIS HONOURABLE SPIRIT OF INDEPENDENCE.—INSTANCE OF HIS CONSIDERATE HUMANITY.—HIS SERVICE UNDER THE COUNT D'ORVILLIERS.—RECEPTION OF DR. FRANKLIN AT PARIS.—DIPLOMACY OF SILAS DEANE.—ITS RESULT.—ENGAGEMENT BETWEEN THE ARETHUSA AND LA BELLE POULE.—FRENCH VERSION OF IT.—ENGAGEMENT OFF USHANT.—KEPPEL AND PALLISER.—CONDUCT OF THE DUC DE CHARTRES.—VARIOUS OPINIONS RESPECTING IT.—HIS LISTS OF LADIES.—SARCASM OF THE MARCHIONESS DE FLEURY.—LETTER OF THE DUKE TO LOUIS XVI.—THE FORMER RELINQUISHES THE NAVY—LAMPOONS ON THE OCCASION.—THE AMERICAN WAR.—ASCENT OF THE DUKE IN A BALLOON.—HIS VISIT TO ENGLAND, AND INTERVIEW WITH THE PRINCE OF WALES AND THE WHIGS.—WAGER OF THE COUNT D'ARTOIS.—INNOVATIONS BY THE DUC DE CHARTRES.—SUMMARY OF HIS CHARACTER PREVIOUS TO THE REVOLUTION.

WHEN the Duc de Chartres married the wealthy heiress of the Duc de Penthièvre, one of the clauses of the marriage contract stipulated, that he should succeed his father-in-law in the office of Grand Admiral of France. To effect this, the Duc de Penthièvre obtained from the King a patent of survivorship for the young prince, his son-in-law, being anxious to transmit the dignity he had inherited from his father to the children of his daughter, for the premature death of the Prince de Lamballe left him without a son of his own. Although the Duc de Chartres was deeply immersed in the dissipated pleasures of

the capital, he was not satisfied with succeeding to this office by inheritance, but honourably resolved to qualify himself for the discharge of its functions. Like all the princes of his family, he felt keenly mortified by the hereditary jealousy with which the elder branch of the Bourbons excluded the House of Orleans from every chance of public distinction, and doomed them to the temptations of compulsory idleness. These feelings are forcibly expressed in a letter written by the Duc de Chartres to one of his friends, in the year 1772.* He says:

"I seem in all probability condemned to eternal inactivity.—Even though war should arrive, to what rank can I aspire? I have never served. I am twenty-five years of age, and as yet have done nothing. The naval service is my sole resource: it affords the only opportunity of which I can avail myself to acquire public esteem and consideration, which for persons in our station are the only real fortune, and without which our birth only places us *beneath* others."

Assuredly a prince with such sentiments could not

* Properly speaking, the Duc de Penthièvre was merely *Admiral* of France. Before the law of May 15, 1791, there was only one Admiral of France, who was supreme chief of all the naval forces of the kingdom. The dignity of admiral was not *a rank*, but, like other charges, simply an hereditary charge. The Revolution having destroyed all charges, the law we have quoted made admiralty a naval rank, and divided it into fractional parts as in England, to render it accessible to all officers.—There have been but two Grand Admirals of France, Murat, under the Empire, and the Duc d'Angoulême, under the Restoration.

have been a mere heartless profligate; and he not only uttered but acted on them. In 1772, he embarked in the squadron of evolution as a *Garde de la Marine*, a rank about equivalent to that of an English midshipman. The squadron sailed on the 5th of May, and returned to harbour on the 6th of September, after having cruised along the coasts of Holland and North Germany. He served in similar expeditions during the two following years with the rank of lieutenant; and in 1775 he sailed in the Terpsichorè to the coast of Spain, where that vessel was compelled to put into Corunna. M. Tournois has published * some letters from the captain to the minister of marine, giving some curious particulars respecting this visit. We select a few.

"Corunna, July 22nd, 1775.

"My Lord,—I have only time to inform your lordship (the Count de Guichen) that the Terpsichorè frigate has come in here this afternoon, having on board the Duc de Chartres, who wished to appear as only the Count de Joinville. The prince sets out to-morrow for St. Jago, whither I shall have the honour to accompany him.

"I am, with the most profound respect, &c.,

"De Tournelle."

* In the fourth volume of "La Biographie Universelle." The following extract of a letter to the Minister of Marine is taken from the French Archives:—

"I will use all my efforts to fulfil your intentions respecting the Duc de Chartres, embarked on board the Alexander, the 27th of this month.

(Signed) "D'Orvilliers, Chef d'Escadre."

"Corunna, July 26th, 1775.

"My Lord,—According to the arrangements made by the Duc de Chartres, he set out for St. Jago on the 23rd of this month, and returned from thence yesterday, at noon, to sleep here. The prince has been received by the chapter of St. Jago, as well as the short space of time allowed for making preparations permitted. He assisted at all the solemnities and diversions of the festival, especially at a bull-fight. The dean has presented to him, in the name of the chapter, an image of the saint in gold, set with diamonds. The governor of the province, as well as the treasurer, had the honour to accompany him on this trip, and I had equally the honour to attend him.

"I am, &c."

"Corunna, July 29th, 1775.

"My Lord,—The day before yesterday, the Duc de Chartres, as he had resolved, undertook a journey to Ferrol. After having visited the Santissima Trinidada, a ship of 112 guns, and examined all the works of the naval department in the port, which interested him very deeply, he returned the same day by sea, as he had gone.

"I am, &c."

"Corunna, July 30th, 1776.

"My Lord,—Either from fatigue, or from the effects of the sea, which he did not immediately perceive, the Duc de Chartres was taken a little unwell yester-

day, and last night had a slight attack of fever; still he finds himself much better to-day, and even sufficiently well to insist upon sailing to-morrow. The only inconvenience he has suffered is, that he has been a little fatigued, and that he has been compelled to regulate his diet by the advice of his physician.

"I am, &c."

The Terpsichorè quitted Corunna on the last of July, and reached Brest, with the rest of the squadron, on the 15th of August.

In 1776 the squadron of evolutions was commanded by the Count Duchaffault,* who is said to have been one of the most remarkable naval men of his age; the Duc de Chartres served under him as Chef d'Escadre, having hoisted his flag on board the Solitaire, of 64 guns. While this ship lay at Lagos, some contagious disease appeared among the crew. Duchaffault directed the prince to put the sick men on shore, and follow the rest of the squadron to the coast of Barbary. To this command the Duc de Chartres replied in the following terms:—

"I shall not land my sick men as you, sir, have advised, and as I had myself intended, because the surgeon has represented to me that if he sent ashore the drugs and mattresses necessary for the patients, he would have none left on board, should the disease

* After having served his country for seventy years, he died in a Revolutionary prison, at the age of eighty-seven.

return while we were at sea. Besides, he believed this precaution absolutely useless, because the men are much better, and, in fact, convalescent, with the exception of eight, of whom, however, he does not despair. Furthermore, it has been brought under my consideration, that the board of health would examine them on their landing; and that if by chance it should decide that the disease was an epidemic, that circumstance would cause all communication between our squadron and the land to be cut off. All these reasons have decided me to leave them in the ship, though this a little disconcerts my plans, as I shall be obliged to remain here eight or nine days longer, and I am excessively anxious to place myself under your orders, sir, and to receive instructions from you; of which, and of the sentiments of respect and esteem I cherish for you, I trust that you do not entertain a doubt. If you still desire that the cruise should take place, I will leave this in eight or nine days, and cruise about, waiting for you between the entrance of Lagos and Cape St. Mary, unless I receive your orders to the contrary.

(Signed) "LOUIS PHILIP JOSEPH OF ORLEANS."

This is a very creditable letter, and creates a very different impression of the character of this unhappy Prince from that which has been attempted to be communicated in nearly every history of the French Revolution. It evinces good sense, a kindly and considerate feeling towards the sailors, and a proper

regard for the respect due to his veteran commanding officer.

This cruise was unusually long. The Duchess de Chartres, having heard that the fleet was destined to the Mediterranean, hastened to join her husband at Naples; but orders had been sent, and, as she believed, for the express purpose of disappointing her, directing the squadron not to approach Italy, but to cruise along the coasts of Portugal, Spain, and Barbary. It would have been easy for the duke to have obtained leave of absence; but anxiety for the safety of his crew induced him to remain with his ship, and he never quitted the squadron until it returned to France at the end of October.*

In 1778 the Duc de Chartres, raised to the rank of Lieutenant-general of Marines, was appointed In-

* This circumstance quite overthrows the gross imposture of Maria Stella, an Italian adventuress, who endeavoured to pass herself off as the daughter of the Duke and Duchess de Chartres. She appeared in Paris in 1828, stating that the duchess, when travelling through Italy with the duke, was secretly delivered of a daughter, who was no other than Maria Stella herself; but that the duke, travelling under the assumed name of the Count de Joinville, substituted for her a boy, the son of a jailor's wife, who had lain in at the same time. But there existed no reason for making any such exchange. Louis Philippe, the eldest son of the duke and duchess, was three years old when his mother visited Italy; and the alleged presence of the duke completes the refutation, for he, as we have seen, never quitted his vessel.

We should not have noticed this long exploded and discredited imposture, had not some attempts been made to revive it since the expulsion of Louis Philippe from France. The imposition, however, has proved too gross even for the Red Republicans.

spector-general of the northern ports of France, and had particular directions to report on the state and efficiency of the naval forces assembled at Brest under the Count D'Orvilliers. The war with England was on the point of breaking out,—a war forced upon the King by the imprudence of his ministers, the vanity of the philosophers, and the passions of the people.

The disgraceful peace, by which Louis XV. had sacrificed to the growing power of England all those colonies which had been the pride of France, had left a deep impression on the minds of the French people. They watched the growing animosity between England and her American colonies with lively sympathy; the obstinacy with which George III. rejected the respectful solicitations of the colonists, and the coercive bills passed by the British Parliament seemed to them, and, indeed, to the rest of Europe, to furnish a reasonable ground for hostilities, although at first few could believe that a colonial insurrection would have any reasonable chance of success. But when, through the blunders of its generals, a royal army was compelled to surrender to an undisciplined body of provincials at Saratoga, the ancient jealousies of England were revived with intense fervour throughout France. Muskets and other munitions of war were supplied to the American insurgents by the connivance of the King's ministers, Maurepas and Vergennes; the Marquis de la Fayette and other young officers of noble family, tendered

their services to the Americans; and La Fayette purchased a ship from his own resources to convey him to the seat of hostilities.

This enthusiasm was raised to a pitch little short of fanaticism by the arrival of the celebrated Dr. Franklin as American ambassador in Paris. His discoveries in electricity had gained him a rather exaggerated fame, and the simplicity of his manners, which he carried to an excess that savoured of affectation, had all the charms of novelty in circles where etiquette had long been felt as an intolerable yoke. The Duc de Chartres, pursuing the scientific tastes which had distinguished his House for several generations, received Franklin at the Palais Royal, where the heads of the Academy, the most distinguished magistrates of the Parliament, and the chief statesmen of the age assembled to discuss patriotism and philosophy, freemasonry and free institutions, the promotion of science and the overthrow of England.

Franklin, in fact, became the rage; and those who are acquainted with French society can easily understand the import of that phrase. He was followed and hailed in the streets as an apostle of liberty. In an assembly of three hundred ladies, the fairest was chosen to crown his silvery hairs with a laurel garland, and to kiss his withered cheeks; his portrait was painted on ladies' fans, and a medal was struck with his effigy and the motto—

"Eripuit cœlo fulmen sceptrumque tyrannis."

Louis XVI. felt not a particle of this enthusiasm for the Americans; he saw too clearly the danger of encouraging revolts of subjects against their sovereign. Marie Antoinette shared these sentiments; but she was so far carried away by the enthusiasm around her as to grant audiences to the young nobles about to proceed as volunteers to the army of Washington. Beaumarchais, the well-known author of the "Marriage of Figaro," was bribed to bring over Maurepas, the King's prime minister, to the American cause; and the only person in the Royal council disposed to support the King's views was M. de Sartines, the Minister of Marine.

Franklin, a little intoxicated by the unusual honours heaped upon him, did not press forward the negotiations as rapidly as Silas Deane, his neglected colleague in the embassy, thought necessary. Worn out by the delays and excuses of M. de Sartines, Deane wrote word to that minister that unless the treaty between France and North America were signed within twenty-four hours, he would commence negotiations for reconciling England with her colonies. "All is lost!" exclaimed Franklin, when Deane told him of the decisive step he had taken; "you have mortally offended France and ruined America." "Tranquillise yourself until you hear the answer," was the diplomatist's cold reply. "The answer," cried the philosopher, "will be an order for sending us to the Bastille." "We shall see that!" said his unmoved colleague.

After the lapse of a few hours, one of M. de Sartine's secretaries waited on the ambassadors, and said, "Gentlemen, you are requested to hold yourselves ready for an interview at midnight; you will be sent for." "At midnight!" exclaimed Franklin, when the secretary left the room; "then my prediction is verified; Mr. Deane, you have undone us!"

At the hour appointed a carriage came for the envoys, and conveyed them with great and mysterious secrecy to the country residence of M. de Sartines, about four or five leagues from Paris. They were introduced to the minister, and the declaration, so imperiously demanded by Mr. Deane, was signed on the instant, to the great surprise and satisfaction of Franklin.

There was no need of any formal declaration of war; England could not receive a treaty with her revolted colonies in any other light; and fleets were equipped on both sides to commence hostilities in the channel. At this very moment, when France was about to enter into an unnecessary war to support a republic beyond the Atlantic; when liberty, equality, and the rights of man began to be deliberated in the saloons of the Palais Royal, by Condorcet, Bailly, Mirabeau, and others, a royal ordinance appeared, signed by the Count de Segur, declaring that no officer should be promoted to the rank of captain who could not prove his nobility for four generations, and that no plebeian officers should hold military rank except

those who were sons of the Knights of St. Louis. The injustice and absurdity of such a law requires no comment; it was one of the secondary causes of the Revolution.

On the 17th of June, Admiral Keppel, who had put to sea with thirty sail of the line, but with a very insufficient supply of frigates, discovered two French frigates reconnoitring his fleet. He gave the signal for chase; one of them, the Licome, was taken, after a brief resistance, but the other, La Belle Poule, after a sharp engagement with an English frigate, the Arethusa, made her escape into shallow water, and succeeded in reaching Brest. The French represented this indecisive engagement as a great victory. When La Belle Poule entered Brest roads, all the inhabitants lined the shore and saluted her with loud acclamations; the different ships of war lowered their topsails in homage, and the vice-admiral saluted her with as many guns as strict etiquette reserved for a ship having on board one of the Princes of the Blood.

The Duc de Chartres was so anxious to visit this first combatant in the new naval war, that he did not wait for her arrival in the roads, but went out to meet her in a pleasure yacht. It was said that the interview between the prince and the captain of the frigate was very affecting. The latter was confined to his cabin by severe wounds; the prince visited him in bed, embraced him affectionately, and loaded him with congratulations on the valour displayed by

himself and his crew. After leaving the captain, he expressed a wish to visit the wounded, which he did soon after. He addressed each of them individually, distributed amongst them a large purse of louis-d'ors, and announced that this gift was intended only as a gratuity to relieve their urgent wants, for that in his capacity of Inspector-general, he would make such a report to the Minister of Marine, as would procure for them a large distribution of royal bounty, and ensure a provision for the widows and orphans of the slain.

On the next day the prince assembled the whole crew of La Belle Poule at a banquet, in spite of the strict laws of etiquette, which did not allow a Prince of the Blood to eat at the same table with common soldiers and sailors. As the captain's wounds prevented his attendance, his place remained empty at the prince's side, and his health was proposed and received as warmly as if he had been actually present. It is a singular coincidence, that it was on board this very frigate, La Belle Poule, that the grandson of this prince, the Prince de Joinville, distinguished himself at Mogadore, and was honoured and feasted on his return to France.

On the 8th of July, the French fleet, under the Count d'Orvilliers, put to sea in three divisions, the third being commanded by the Duc de Chartres, who had hoisted his flag in the Saint Esprit, a sloop of eighty guns. On the 23rd they came in sight of the English fleet under Keppel and Palliser, but though

the French had the advantage of the wind, they did not offer battle. On the 27th, however, a dark squall brought the two fleets together off Ushant; a sharp but indecisive engagement ensued, which ended by the French retiring into harbour and claiming a victory, because they had not been beaten. This battle brought on fierce disputes both in England and France. Keppel and Palliser mutually accused each other, and were both tried by courts martial; whilst the enemies of the Duc de Chartres asserted, that he had shewn a want of personal courage, and that he had disobeyed the signals of the Count d'Orvilliers to bear down with his division on some crippled English ships, which would have given him an easy victory.

In the manifold controversies respecting the conduct of Philip Egalité on this occasion, it is rather surprising, that neither his friends nor his opponents have thought of consulting the evidence given on the trials of Admirals Palliser and Keppel. There, it appears, that no part of the English fleet was in a position to be cut off, and had D'Orvilliers ordered the Duc de Chartres to effect such a movement as is represented, he would, in all probability have sacrificed his third division. We therefore believe, that no such signals as those represented, were ever made; but there is evidence that the Duc de Chartres deliberately disobeyed the orders and signals which prohibited him from taking a part in the action. The despatch of D'Orvilliers to the Minister of Marine is little more than an extract from his log-book, but it

contains one passage which has an important bearing on the subject. "It was not extraordinary that this movement (to cut off a part of the English fleet), which was a thing of the moment, and entirely suggested by the immediate occasion, was not thoroughly comprehended. But the Duc de Chartres, having taken the head of the line, this admirable prince came under my stern to inquire my intentions." Assuredly the count would not have applied the term "admirable" to any officer, even if he were a prince, who had been guilty either of cowardice or gross disobedience of orders.

Another official document produced by M. Tournois is, the report made by M. de Sartine, the Minister of Marine, to the Duc de Penthièvre, father-in-law of the Duc de Chartres, and Admiral of France. He says "M. d'Orvilliers has given proofs of the greatest skill, and the Duc de Chartres has displayed cool and tranquil courage, united to extraordinary presence of mind. Seven large ships, one of them a three-decker, fought the Saint Esprit successively, and the Duc de Chartres replied to them with the greatest spirit, though deprived of the use of the guns on his lower deck. At last another ship of our fleet disengaged the Saint Esprit, at the moment the fight was sharpest, and received so terrible a fire, that she was quite disabled and compelled to retire." Finally the King shewed that he was satisfied with the conduct of the Duc de Chartres, by conferring on him the honourable charge of distributing the

qualifications bestowed on the officers and sailors who had most distinguished themselves in the engagement.

All the accounts given by the officers and crew of the Saint Esprit, concur in declaring that the Prince remained on the quarter-deck during the whole engagement, wearing the decorations of his rank, and that, like Nelson, at Trafalgar, he refused to put on a less conspicuous dress, though warned that he was making himself a mark for the enemy. The Count d'Orvilliers, in fact, discredited the accusations, in which he subsequently joined, by selecting the Duc de Chartres to be the bearer of the despatches announcing his pretended victory. His arrival in Paris was a popular triumph. He was crowned with laurels at the Opera; the Palais Royal was illuminated, and its courts were crowded during the entire night by persons of every rank, eager to join in the acclamations that hailed a hero's return.

All this was changed on the following day. Marie Antoinette, naturally enough, declared that the affair at Ushant could not be regarded as a victory; and *Te Deum* was sung, not for the success of the French arms, but for her pregnancy. Bitter epigrams, accusing the Duc de Chartres of cowardice, and attributing to him the indecisive nature of the action, appeared in the *Gazette de France*, the well-known journal of the Court. It was studiously reported by the courtiers that during the whole battle he had been skulking in the hold; and his disregard of imaginary

signals was made the theme of many sorry jests. The Duc de Chartres traced this persecution to the Queen and her favourites, and he thenceforth avowed himself the bitter enemy of Marie Antoinette and her offspring.

On the first day of the new year the Count d'Artois and the Duc de Chartres made a list, in six columns, of the ladies who frequented the Court at Versailles. They classed them in six categories, as *Beautiful, Pretty, Passable, Ugly, Frightful, Abominable.* Only one lady was named in the first column, and there were but two in the second. The chatterers about the Court did not fail to obtain copies of this list, and to shew the different ladies named what position had been assigned them. Among those were the Marchioness de Fleury, who had been ranked in the class of *Abominables.* If she had little beauty, she had abundance of wit and malice. Some days after the appearance of the list, she supped at the Palais Royal. The Duc de Chartres went up to converse with her, but she received him very coldly. An explanation followed, and, as may well be imagined, the duke's defence was anything but satisfactory. At length the marchioness broke off the conversation, saying, "Luckily, my lord duke, there is an appeal from *your* judgment; all the world knows that you have as little skill in *signalement* as in signals." Another lady, having overheard the Prince observe, as she passed, that her charms were faded, turned round and said "Yes, sir, like your reputation."

To escape from these vexations the Prince took the command of the squadron of evolutions in 1779, with the rank of Vice-admiral. It cruised along the western coast of Ireland, and through the islands of Scotland, returning home by the North Sea. The Duc de Chartres landed in Holland, resigning the squadron to the second in command, for the purpose of studying the Dutch marine, then held to be the best managed in the world. This very laudable pursuit gave rise to a new series of calumnies. It was asserted that the Prince wished to deprive his father-in-law of his post as Admiral of France, and the Duc de Penthièvre, believing the report, received the Duc de Chartres very coldly on his return to Paris. On discovering the cause, the Duc de Chartres appealed to the King in a remarkable letter, which has not, we believe, yet appeared in English.

"SIRE,

"The bounties of your Majesty authorise the confidence which induces me to have recourse to you, and the situation in which I am placed renders your kindness necessary. I shall not attempt to impress on your Majesty my zeal and my services; were I to sacrifice my entire life to your service, I should never believe that I did more than my duty. I have been engaged in several naval campaigns; and I have neglected nothing to make myself acquainted with every thing relating to the marine. In the inspection with which your Majesty deigned to entrust me, I venture

to say that I succeeded in restoring subordination, which was entirely disregarded. Finally, from the letters of M. de Sartine, and the testimony of the navy, I venture to believe that I am so happy as to be able to flatter myself with not having been wholly useless to the good of your Majesty's service. After this short exposition of my claims, I beg to be permitted to confide to your Majesty's breast, the disquietude and chagrin with which my heart is afflicted most sensibly and deeply. You are aware that I am the first Prince of the Blood who ever served in the marine. This circumstance greatly contributed to determine my selection: it afforded a distinguished opportunity of proving my zeal for your service. I will not conceal from you, Sire, that I had also in view the place held by my father-in-law. I desired it certainly, but I was still more anxious to deserve it. I soon perceived that he did not approve the course I had taken, and that he ever felt some disquietude lest I should obtain the survivorship without his participation. I assured him that I never had such a thought; and, to leave him no doubt on the subject, I promised him to decline it, should your Majesty have the kindness to offer it to me.

"I have four children, Sire: all my property is settled on the eldest. The fate and fortune of the others depend absolutely on my father-in-law. For the sake of the interests of my children, out of my regard and feelings for Madame the Duchesse de Chartres, and through gratitude for the friendship he

shewed me before I served in the marine, I am bound to respect his will.

"I have another source of trouble, Sire, still more cruel, since it concerns my reputation. Your Majesty knows it has been reported that I induced the Count d'Orvilliers to return to port on the 29th.* I give my word of honour to your Majesty that I had no communication with him since the 26th. At that moment I followed his orders, from which I never swerved for a minute. *On the 27th I gave him proofs of subordination, which have cost me dearly; but this is not the moment to speak of them to your Majesty.*†

"When we reached Brest the Count d'Orvilliers informed me that he did not think the fleet would go out again, at least not for three weeks, and that I might avail myself of that interval to pay my respects to your Majesty. If this be a fault, it is merely the result of my first emotions, and has no reference to the service. It would be one of which I should be ashamed, Sire, if intoxicated by a little success, I had come, as is pretended, to deprive my father-in-law of his charge. At this moment the bounties of your Majesty would have been the misfortune of my father-in-law, and perhaps of my wife and children, if your Majesty had contemplated conferring on me the survivorship of the Admiralty.

* That is to say, the second-next day after the battle of Ushant.

† This seems to confirm the assertion of M. de Lebeerette, that the Duc de Chartres had formed the project of cutting off the disabled ships, but was hindered by the Count d'Orvilliers.

"Deign, Sire, to reflect a moment on the peculiarity of my situation. I have served in the navy since 1772, and without any interested motive. My ambition was limited to proving my zeal to your Majesty and meriting your esteem, and I could not help flattering myself that the public would manifest some gratitude for the sacrifices I had made. Base and interested views are attributed to me; persons have the malignity to suggest to my father-in-law that I execute the functions of his charge, that I leave him the mere title, and that I am engaged in measures and intrigues to deprive him even of that. I served in the squadron subordinate to an officer who was my junior, and I obeyed his commands; and yet all errors have been attributed to me as if I had held the chief command; I am rendered responsible for events, and to accredit these malignant calumnies, a report is spread that your Majesty has signified your dissatisfaction with my conduct.

"After this exposition your Majesty may well judge whether my heart must not be deeply afflicted, and whether it has not reason to be so. The esteem of my father-in-law, the fate of my children, the happiness of my wife, my own glory and reputation, all—all are compromised. These powerful motives authorise me to have recourse to your Majesty, and to ask you to create for me the place of Colonel-General of the Light Troops. This favour will produce its effect on my enemies. It will prove to the public that your Majesty is satisfied with my conduct; it will entirely disabuse

my father-in-law, and, finally, it will form the happiness of my life, by procuring me the means of being useful to your Majesty, and of deserving the bounties with which you may be pleased to honour me.

(Signed) "Louis Philip Joseph of Orleans."

Louis XVI. wrote at the foot of this letter,

"The King, willing to give the Duc de Chartres a testimony of his satisfaction, and to prove that he is equally content with the zeal he has manifested for his service on all occasions, and particularly at the battle of Ushant on the 27th of July last, has created for him the charge of Colonel-General of the Hussars and Light Troops, with the command of a regiment, for which the Duc de Chartres will make the necessary arrangements with his Majesty."

The removal of the Duc de Chartres from the navy to a command of Hussars, naturally provoked a host of squibs, epigrams and jests, in which the old English joke of "Horse Marines" figured conspicuously. It is, however, important to observe, that he sought the post himself, for it has been a thousand times repeated that the appointment was forced upon him by Louis XVI. as a cutting sarcasm on his alleged misconduct at the battle off Ushant; and the subsequent opposition of the Duc de Chartres to the royal cause has been attributed to resentment for this insult. From this time the prince ceased to belong to the navy, though he still continued to take a lively interest in everything connected with maritime affairs. When Rochambeau's

auxiliary army was sent out to the aid of the Americans in 1780, the Duc de Chartres made every possible exertion to obtain permission to join it as a volunteer, and even applied to Marie Antoinette to exert her influence for that purpose. He received the following cold and uncourteous reply from the Queen.

"The King is informed of, and discontented with, the disposition you have evinced to join his army. The constant refusal he has deemed it his duty to give to the most pressing of those who are most nearly connected with him, and the consequences which your example would involve, shew me but too clearly that he will accept no excuse and shew no indulgence. The pain this gives me has induced me to accept the commisssion of informing you of his intentions, which are very positive. He thought that by sparing you the indignity of a formal order, he would diminish the chagrin of your disappointment, without retarding your submission. Time will prove that I have best consulted your true interest, and that on this, as on every other occasion, I shall always be happy to prove to you my sincere attachment."

Thus excluded from public affairs, the Duc de Chartres divided his time between the pleasures of fashionable life and the pursuits of science. An interesting account is preserved of his exploration of the lead-mines in Lower Brittany, but more attention was directed to his having formed one of the party which made the first successful balloon-ascent in Paris, June 17th, 1784. The æronauts ascended very

rapidly, and were borne so high that they lost sight of the earth. They were suddenly enveloped in a thick mist and hurried in unknown directions. Valves were not at that time used; and the Duc de Chartres cut an aperture in the silk, through which the gas escaped, and the party descended rather rapidly, but they landed without sustaining any injury. The descent was made at Meudon, from whence the Prince, mounting the first horse he met, galloped full speed to St. Cloud to relieve the anxiety of his family. Nothing can exhibit more strongly the blighting effects of party spirit than to find this anecdote quoted as a proof of the cowardice of the Duc de Chartres! *

Soon after the close of the American war the Duc de Chartres came over to England, where he formed a close intimacy with George Prince of Wales (afterwards George IV.) The two Princes frequented the great meetings where bets are made on the speed of horses, and the skill of training grooms and jockeys. They went together to Newmarket, Epsom, Doncaster, Ascot, and to other races, with abundance of lords, marquises, and dukes in their train, where they won and lost large sums of money. In the autumn of

* The reproach, however, was made by his cotemporaries. Walpole, writing to Sir Horace Mann, says: "The rage of air-balloons still continues, both here and in France. The Duc de Chartres made a campaign in one that did not redound to his glory more than his former one by sea. As he has miscarried on three elements, he should try if he could purify himself by the fourth. He is now (August, 1784) in England, for the third time."

1784 the two Princes visited Brighthelmstone, then little better than a fishing village, but which from the date of this royal sojourn, began to advance in wealth and population until it rose into the modern Brighton. The hereditary friendship between the House of Orleans and the Whig party secured the admission of the Duc de Chartres into the brilliant but dissipated society which had gathered round Charles James Fox, Sheridan, Fitzpatrick, and the great leaders of fashion and party.* Dicing and drinking, betting and racing,—every possible form of waste and profusion,—were practised by the Princes and their companions. His vast wealth enabled the Duc de Chartres to support this riot and extravagance; but the Prince of Wales became involved in the greatest embarrassments. In 1786 Philip Egalité, who had just succeeded his father as Duke of Orleans, again visited England, and offered to lend the Prince of Wales a sum of money sufficient to pay his debts, George III. having a little before refused his son any pecuniary assistance. It required all the exertions of the Duke of Portland and the leaders of the Whig party to prevent an arrangement, which would have placed the heir-apparent to the throne of England in the degrading posi-

* Samuel More thus notices the visit of the Duc de Chartres to England in May, 1783:—"As I do not go to Ranelagh, nor the play, nor the opera, nor sup at Charles Fox's, nor play at Brookes's, nor bet at Newmarket, I have not seen that worthy branch of the House of Bourbon. I never heard of such a low, vulgar, vicious fellow. His character is—*Poltron sur mer, Escroc sur terre, et Vaut-rien partout.*"

tion of a dependant upon a foreign Prince.* The cry would have been raised that he was a pensioner to France, and it might have periled his succession to the Crown.

The Count d'Artois shared the Anglomania which the Duc de Chartres introduced into France. Horse-racing, which had been suspended during the American war, was revived with greater extravagance than ever; betting ran higher even than in England, and the ruinous excess of wagers was the scandal of the Court. The Count d'Artois having wagered a thousand louis-d'or on a single course with the Duc de Chartres, waited on Louis XVI. and proposed to him to become one of his backers. That virtuous monarch, anxious to give a lesson in economy to his brother, paused a few minutes and then replied, "Well brother, I think that I may venture to risk a single crown." But this ingenious rebuke was wasted on the Count d'Artois. Chance gave him another of a harsher description; he not only lost the wager, but

* The Duke of Portland, writing on this subject to Sheridan, says:—"The particulars varied in no respect from those I related to you, except in the addition of a pension, which is to take place immediately on the event which entitles the creditors to payment (the death of George III., then confidently expected), and is to be granted for life to a nominee of the Duke of Orleans. . . . I am going to Bulstrode, but will return at a moment's notice, if I can be of the least use in getting rid of this odious engagement, or preventing it being entered into, if it should not yet be completed." On the next day the duke wrote again to Sheridan:—"I hope I am not too sanguine in looking to a good conclusion of this bad business."

his horse being severely hurt by a fall, was sold for six pounds, after having been purchased for five hundred a short time previously. The Duc de Chartres ordered his winnings to be distributed to the crowd of peasants who had come to witness the spectacle, and thus gave great offence at Court, where he was accused of purchasing popularity. But these were not the only innovations for which the Duc de Chartres was reprobated by the old courtiers. He was the first to discard the use of hair-powder, which previously was worn by all who appeared at Court, whether old or young; he introduced pantaloons instead of breeches; he woreboots in half-dress instead of shoes with enormous silver buckles; he set the example of driving his own chariot or phaeton,—for before his time it was considered a degradation for a nobleman to touch the reins,—and he offered to ride any one of his own horses at a race. These breaches of a most rigid etiquette, though now sufficiently common, were before the Revolution regarded as most dangerous innovations. The duke incurred even greater odium by erecting those galleries and arcades of shops which, subsequently completed by his son, give such a peculiar character to the Palais Royal. Though this change in the courts and gardens of the old Palais Richelieu was attributed by his enemies to avarice, it really caused great embarrassment to his finances, and, if Madame de Genlis is to be believed, brought him to the very verge of bankruptcy; though the enormous dowry he had to pay for his sister,—ten millions of francs,

(400,000*l.*) — must have greatly embarrassed his affairs. Several jests were current at Court on the trading speculations of the Duc de Chartres. It used to be said, "Our cousin comes very seldom to Versailles since he has turned shopkeeper."

So far as we have hitherto examined the life of Philip Egalité, we find him vicious, but not criminal; debauched, but not depraved. He was spurned and neglected by the Court before he openly raised the standard of opposition; his offers to serve the King by land or sea were repulsed with unmerited harshness, and the countenance which the Queen unquestionably gave to the slanderous reports respecting his conduct at Ushant was certainly a very justifiable cause of resentment. He appears to have been deficient in firmness of purpose, and to have been very easily guided by those who had succeeded in gaining his confidence. His ambition was that of a weak man, who seeks rather to profit by circumstances than to guide them. Such a man, placed in an exalted situation, excited by a sense of unmerited wrong, and stimulated by the intoxication of popular applause, however badly earned, was admirably fitted to be a tool and instrument in the hands of the designing, and to become, by degrees, an agent in crimes, from which at first he would have shrunk with horror.

CHAPTER X.

CAUSES WHICH LED TO THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.—FINANCIAL CRISIS.—STATE OF THE FRENCH PEASANTRY PRIOR TO THE REVOLUTION.—CALONNE.—THE NOTABLES.—THEIR PROCEEDINGS.—LOUIS XVI. AND HIS PARLIAMENT.—PROTEST OF THE DUKE OF ORLEANS.—HIS EXILE.—REMONSTRANCES OF THE CITIZENS AND PARLIAMENT.—AVOCATIONS OF THE DUKE OF ORLEANS IN HIS RETIREMENT.—PROJECTED MEASURE OF LOUIS XVI.—D'ESPREMENIL AND GUILBERT DE MONSABERT.—THEIR ARREST ATTEMPTED.—INSURRECTIONS THROUGHOUT FRANCE.—NECKER APPOINTED MINISTER.—PARTY OF THE QUEEN.—INSTRUCTIONS OF THE DUKE OF ORLEANS TO HIS AGENTS.—CIRCULAR OF DE SIMON.—EFFECT OF HIS INSTRUCTIONS.—REVEILLON AND THE RIOT IN PARIS.—TO WHOM ATTRIBUTED.

COUNTLESS volumes have been written on the French Revolution, and multitudinous explanations have been given of its causes. But a revolution was inevitable in a country where the finances had been thrown into confusion by the accumulated abuses of centuries, where a system of taxation prevailed which grievously oppressed the nation and did not supply the wants of the Exchequer. Two thirds of France belonged to the privileged classes, and they claimed a complete exemption from impost, so that by the most whimsical of contrasts those who enjoyed the greatest share of social advantage, contributed nothing to the conservation of society. This was the great and true cause of the Revolution; the social condition of France shocked the

intelligence and prevented the prosperity of its people. Perhaps wise and *loyal* concessions might have prevented convulsions; but Louis XVI. was a prince deeply imbued with the prejudices of his birth and education. He did not yield until it was too late, and too often he afforded reasonable grounds for believing that on the first favourable opportunity he would retract the concessions which had been extorted from him. Regarding himself as the first gentleman of his kingdom, and the heir of the Most Christian Kings, he deemed it a point of honour, as it was a natural instinct, to transmit the patrimony of the kingdom to his successors as perfect as he had received it from his ancestors. Turgot had vainly engaged him in a career of useful reforms; but these reforms were incomplete; they recognised the changes inevitably made by the progress of circumstances; but they did not keep pace with the expectations of the people or the wants of the country.

Philip of Orleans, alienated from the Court, but popular in the City, had neither the power nor the will to control events. Like the rest of France, he saw that the financial condition of the Monarchy menaced a fearful crisis at no very distant period, and he believed that neither the Court nor the courtiers would make the sacrifices by which a crash might be averted. He was one of the first of the higher ranks who shewed any sympathy for the French peasants, then the most miserable and oppressed serfs to be found in Europe, and the concessions he made to his tenantry procured

him the active hostility of nearly all the other aristocratic proprietors.*

Calonne, raised to the head of a ministry by a

* Mignet gives the following frightful, but accurate description of the state of the French peasantry before the Revolution.

"The most important operations of agriculture were fettered or prevented by the game laws, and the restrictions intended for their support. Game of the most destructive kind, such as wild boars and herds of deer, were permitted to go at large through spacious districts, without any enclosure to protect the crops. Numerous edicts existed, which prohibited hoeing and weeding, lest the young partridges should be disturbed; mowing hay, lest the eggs should be destroyed; taking away the stubble, lest the birds should be deprived of shelter; manuring with night-soil, lest their flavour should be injured. Complaints for the infraction of these edicts were all carried before the manorial courts, where every species of oppression, chicanery, and fraud was prevalent. Fines were imposed at every change of property in the direct and collateral line; at every sale to purchasers, the people were bound to grind their corn at the landlord's mill, press their grapes at his press, and bake their bread at his oven. Obligations to repair the roads founded on custom, decrees, and servitude, were enforced with the most rigorous severity; in many places the use even of handmills was not free; and the seigneurs were invested with the power of selling to the peasants the right of bruising buckwheat and barley between two stones. It is vain to attempt a description of the feudal services which pressed with so much severity in every part of France." Mr. Young, who travelled through France about this period, bears equal testimony to the wretched condition of the peasantry. "With a very few exceptions," he observes, "they were in the most indigent state; their houses, dark, comfortless, and almost destitute of furniture; their dress ragged and miserable, their food the coarsest and most humble fare. They were oppressed by their feudal superiors with a variety of the most galling burdens." No wonder when the Revolution broke out, these slaves of ages rose enthusiastically at the first summons of the demagogues and anarchists.

Court intrigue, found that his first enterprise must be to provide for the great and increasing deficit in the finances. The State, in fact, had neither money nor credit, and it was obvious that neither could be obtained without establishing a new system of contribution. Turgot's plan for abolishing the aristocratic exemption from impost was thus revived by the force of sheer necessity, and Calonne deemed it proper to give the initiative of this inevitable reform to the privileged classes themselves. The Notables of the kingdom, a body which had not been convened since 1626, were assembled at Versailles, and to them the minister submitted the deplorable state of the treasury, and the plans he had formed for its retrieval. Calonne was personally unpopular, and his proposed equalisation of taxes was as odious to the pride of the nobles as it was likely to prove onerous to their purses. They rejected all his propositions, but at the same time signified to the King that they might probably prove more tractable under a different minister. Calonne was, in consequence, dismissed, and exiled from Court.

Monsieur de Brienne, Archbishop of Toulouse, who succeeded Calonne by the favour of the Queen, found that the deficit since 1776 amounted to sixty-six millions sterling (1,646,000,000 livres), and was increasing at a rate of about six millions sterling, (140,000,000 livres), annually. This frightful state of affairs induced the Notables to make large concessions; and they were dismissed on the 25th of May,

1787. Two edicts were prepared, one establishing a stamp-duty, and the other a land-tax. Had these been immediately presented to the Parliament they would probably in the excitement of the moment, have been adopted; but Brienne's imprudent delay gave time for an opposition to be organised. The Parliament, which was strongly attached to the privileged classes, refused to register the edicts; declaring that the right of imposing new taxes belonged exclusively to the States-General. The edicts were, nevertheless, registered in *a bed of justice*, held at Versailles; and the Parliament, having angrily protested against this proceeding, was exiled to Troyes on the 15th of August, 1787.

But the exile of the Parliament from Paris added to the complicated perplexities of the ministerial position. After some negotiations, it was agreed that another tax should be substituted for the obnoxious edicts, and Parliament was recalled on the 19th of September. On the 19th of the following November the King, accompanied by his ministers, went to the Parliament and presented a project for a gradual loan, which was received with manifest dissatisfaction. Fréteau and Sabatier opposed the system of loans with great acuteness; insisting, that instead of having recourse to temporary expedients, the States-General should be convoked to devise measures for averting the ruin which menaced the country. When the votes were about to be taken, Lamoignon, the Keeper of the Seals, clearly perceiving that the ministers would be in a minority, declared that no vote could be taken, and no consulta-

tion held in the presence of the King; he insisted that on such an occasion the functions of the Parliament were merely deliberative. In obedience to this strange doctrine, which occasioned much murmuring, but provoked no immediate resentment, the sitting of Parliament was at once changed into a "bed of justice," in which the will of the King was supreme.

In conformity with this interpretation of the law, two edicts were read, one establishing the gradual loan, and the other convening the States-General in five years.

The Keeper of the Seals having read the usual form which was to be endorsed on the edict, the entire assembly heard it in profound silence, and the clerk was just about to write down the words, when the young Duke of Orleans, whose elevation to that title by the death of his father was yet recent, with evident emotion, casting an indignant glance upon the magistrates, and looking haughtily at the monarch, demanded if the present assemblage was a *lit de justice*, or a free consultation? "It is a *royal sitting*," answered the King. "Sire, then," continued the duke, "I beg your Majesty will permit me to deposit at your feet, and in the bosom of the Court, the declaration, that I regard the enregistration as *illegal*, and that it will be necessary, for the exculpation of those persons who are held to have deliberated upon it, to add, that it is by the *express command* of the King."

The King replied, that he had done nothing in this sitting which had not been done by his predecessors, and persisted in enforcing the registration of the

edicts. Scarcely had he withdrawn, when the Dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, Messieurs Fréteau, Sabatier, and D'Espremenil, declared the whole proceedings in the royal sitting illegal, and carried a vote condemnatory of the proposed loan. Exasperated by this unexpected and unusual resistance, the King exiled the Duke of Orleans to Villers-Cotterets, and sent some other members of the Parliament to the Hieres Islands. This despotic act greatly irritated not only the Parliament but the citizens of Paris. D'Espremenil was selected to prepare an address to the Throne on the subject. It will be seen that it partook more of the nature of a sharp remonstrance than of an humble supplication. It was as follows :—

"Sire,—The public grief has preceded your Parliament to the foot of the Throne. The first Prince of the Royal Family is exiled; it is asked in vain, what crime has he committed? Is it for having spoken truth in the sitting of your Majesty? Is it for having spoken it with a respectful frankness, worthy of his illustrious race?

"If the Duke of Orleans is culpable, we all are so. It was worthy of the first Prince of your Blood to represent to your Majesty that you were changing the sitting into a 'bed of justice.' His declaration only gave utterance to our sentiments. If the Duke of Orleans has evinced a courage suited to his birth and rank, he has also manifested a zeal for your glory.

"If exile be the reward of fidelity in princes, we may ask ourselves with terror and with grief, what

protection is there for law and liberty, for national honour, for those morals so necessary to the preservation of the common interest of the throne and the people ?

"Such measures, Sire, dwelt not in your heart, such examples do not originate from your Majesty; they flow from another source.

"Your Parliament, Sire, supplicates your Majesty humbly, urgently, by the interests of your glory, to reject these merciless counsels, to listen to the dictates of your own heart, and to obey them only; and justice, consoled by humanity, at the return of this excellent Prince, will hasten to efface an example, which would inevitably end in the destruction of the laws, the degradation of the magistracy, universal discontent, and the triumph of the enemies of the French name."

The King refused to comply with this request, and condemned some of the expressions used in the representations thus offered to him as imprudent and indiscreet. A second, and still stronger one, emanating from the same pen, was forthwith prepared and presented.

"We are authorised to believe," said the remonstrants, "that the Duke of Orleans is not guilty. We shall never cease therefore respectfully to demand of your Majesty the personal liberty of that august Prince. It is no longer a Prince of your Blood that your Parliament re-demands in the name of the laws and of reason—it is a Frenchman,—it is a *man*."

These harsh and rash measures were avowedly

adopted at the urgent solicitations of the Queen. The injustice of the proceeding was obvious, for the Duc de Bourbon had joined in the opposition with his brother-in-law the Duke of Orleans, but was not, like him, punished with exile.

"The first days of the duke's exile," says a Memoir written under the dictation of his duchess,* "were perfect days of triumph. He held at Villers-Cotterets a more numerous Court than that which he usually had at Paris. . . . On the morning after his arrival, the Princes de Condé and de Conti, the Ducs de Bourbon, de Penthièvre, and even the young Duke d'Enghien—in a word, everybody that was not detained at Versailles, and, who could have relations with him—hastened to pay him compliments warmer than mere politeness could dictate. This homage was the more flattering to the Duke of Orleans, that even the Queen's courtiers, beginning with the Princes d'Esterhazy, were not withheld from visiting Villers-Cotterets by the necessity of first obtaining permission from the King. Madame the Duchess d'Orleans never quitted her husband for a single instant during his residence at Villers-Cotterets."

As the duke was but imperfectly acquainted with this portion of his estates, he devoted much of his time to examining into the condition of his tenantry. Even his enemies confess, that during the period of his exile he deservedly acquired the affections of the peasantry by his affability, kindliness, and liberality. He pre-

* *Explication de l'énigme du roman de Montjoie.*

sented dowries to brides, stood sponsor for infants, visited the cottages of the poor, seated himself beside the farmer and the labourer, and conversed familiarly with them on their respective occupations. Many a peasant in that district, even after the death of the duke, has been heard to dwell with much tenderness on the recollection of those days, and on the condescension with which that prince had noticed himself, his wife, and children.

During his retirement at Villers-Cotterets, the duke's principal diversion was the pleasure of the chase; for he had given up shooting since he had had the misfortune to wound mortally one of his servants with a fowling-piece.* One day, when hunting a stag in the forest, he had to cross a rustic bridge, without parapets. It was the month of November, 1787; heavy rains had fallen, and the river, swelled to a torrent, had risen above the arch of the bridge. The duke, followed by a single attendant,—whom, with his usual affectation of English phraseology, he called his "jockey"—dashed at the bridge; but in the middle of it the horse swerved, and steed and rider were precipitated into the swollen stream. The prince with some difficulty freed himself from his stirrups, and gained the opposite bank. The jockey, on seeing the accident, spurred

* The Duke of Orleans made all the reparation in his power for this accident. He bestowed a pension of fifteen hundred francs a-year on the unfortunate man's widow, paid for the education of his only daughter in a convent, and presented her with a large dowry when she was married.

hastily forwards, and was in like manner thrown into the river. As he could not swim he would certainly have been drowned, had not the duke plunged again into the water, and, after several fruitless attempts, in which the lives of both were endangered, succeeded in grasping the servant by some portion of his dress, and thus dragging him to the shore. "Jockey" threw himself at the feet of his august deliverer, embraced his knees, which he bedewed with tears, but could not find words to express the fulness of his gratitude. The duke raised him with kindness, and added, with a smiling air, "The only testimony of gratitude, my friend, which I demand of you, is for the future not to *cut your hair so close*, for you see what a difficult matter I found it to drag you out of the water."

Remonstrance after remonstrance was presented to the King by the Parliament. The last, and perhaps the most remarkable, was that of April 11, 1788, which for many reasons deserves close attention :—

"SIRE,

"Your Parliament, the princes and peers who sit in it, have engaged us to convey to the foot of the Throne their respectful representations on the answer which your Majesty has made to their supplications.

"All true magistrates and good citizens have been thrown into equal consternation by the reproaches it contains, and the principles it manifests.

"It is not a favour that your Parliament comes to solicit; it comes to demand justice.

"Justice has rules independent of human volition, to which even Kings are subject. Henry IV. recognized that he had two Sovereigns;—God and the Law.

"One of these rules is, to condemn no person unheard. It is a rule belonging to all times and all places: it is the duty of all men, and your Majesty will permit us to represent to you, that this duty is as obligatory on you as it is on your subjects.

"It is not one of your Majesty's functions to condemn criminals yourself. This painful and dangerous office the King can only exercise through his judges. The persons who take pleasure in hearing the formidable word *punishment* pronounced by your royal mouth, who counsel you to punish without a hearing, to punish in your own name and person, to ordain exiles and imprisonments, equally wound eternal justice, the laws of the kingdom, and the noblest prerogative of your Majesty.

"If there be strong reasons for the exile of the Duke of Orleans; if it be an act of clemency only to allow two magistrates to perish in close and insalubrious prisons; if it be true, that in the treatment they receive, justice is tempered by humanity, then they must be very guilty indeed. It is therefore right that your Parliament should judge them; we only require that their crimes should be made known.

"The humblest of your subjects is not less interested in our demands, than the first Prince of the Blood. Yes, Sire, not only a magistrate, not only a

Prince of your Blood, but every Frenchman punished by your Majesty, and especially if punished without a hearing, becomes necessarily the subject of public alarm. The connection of these ideas is not the work of your Parliament; it is that of nature, it is that of reason; it is the principle of the most sacred laws; of those laws which are graven in every conscience, and which are implanted in your own breast. The cause then of the Duke of Orleans and of the two magistrates, without us, and by the mere force of these principles, *is the cause of the Throne and of the Nation.*

"It is then in the name of the laws which preserve empires, in the name of that liberty, of which we are the respectful interpreters and legitimate conservators, in the name of your authority, of which we are the first and the surest ministers, that we venture to demand the trial or the liberation of the Duke of Orleans and the two exiled magistrates, imprisoned by orders extorted from you, which, we believe to be as contrary to the sentiments as they are to the interests of your Majesty."

What reflections crowd upon the mind, when we remember that this bold remonstrance was presented to the third in succession from the despot of the Cages, the Iron-Mask, and the *Lettres de Cachet!* It was enough to have made the bones of Louis XIV. or even Louis XV. quiver with indignation in their graves! Louis XVI. temperately replied, "I will

cause my intentions to be made known to my Parliament." He immediately recalled the exiles.

It has been said, that the Duke of Orleans, weary of his solitude at Villers-Cotterets, had descended to supplicate the intervention of the Queen, by the agency of his duchess. Let us look to the testimony of the lady herself, in the work written under her dictation, from which we have already quoted. "The Duchess of Orleans, as has been previously stated, did not quit Villers-Cotterets. She did not even write to the King or the Queen; but her father, the Duc de Penthièvre, having remarked to the King, that the Villers-Cotterets was a very unhealthy place, especially in spring, and that he was much alarmed for his daughter, who was firmly resolved not to quit her husband, the King, who had a great regard for his god-daughter, the Duchess of Orleans, changed the place of exile to Raincy, which was much nearer Paris." That the duke and the magistrates were indebted for their liberation to parliamentary remonstrance, is evident from the comparison of dates; the Remonstrance was voted on the 11th of April, and on the 17th the exiles were recalled.

It is sheer absurdity to describe the opposition of the Duke of Orleans to the royal edicts as treasonable, or even seditious. He was supported in this opposition by the Condés, the Contis, the greater part of the peers, and all the magistrates; by men, most of whom sealed their attachment to the royal cause with their blood, and who assuredly would not have

given their adhesion to a cause which transcended the bounds of constitutional opposition. The King had entered into a violent contest with the Parliaments of his kingdom; there were faults on both sides, but there were also rights on both sides. It was not until the Court had gone too far in aggression that the Parliaments became excessive, and perhaps factious, in their resistance.

A new aggression on the part of the Court was followed by more important results. D'Espremenil and Guilbert de Monsabert, on the 3rd of May, convoked in all haste a general assembly of the Parliament, and denounced to the members a mysterious project, of which they had obtained a printed copy from the royal press at Versailles. This was the creation of six new courts of appeal, to restrain the jurisdiction of Parliament, and the revival of the Plenary Court of the middle ages, to which the power of registering edicts was to be transferred. Such was the excitement caused by this revelation that all the members unanimously made oath that they would never consent to such an innovation. At the same time they proclaimed, as the constitutional principles of the French monarchy, the free vote of all subsidies by the States-General, the irremovability of judges and magistrates, the inviolability of individual liberty, and the right of every citizen to be tried before the regular tribunals only.

Great were the confusion and indignation of the Court; the decrees of the Parliament were set aside

by royal edicts, and warrants were issued for the apprehension of Espremenil and Monsabert. These gentlemen sought refuge in the Palais de Justice, where the Parliament declared that it took them under its protection, and voted that it would continue its sittings until the return of a deputation appointed to wait upon the King. Louis XVI. refused to receive the deputation, and sent a detachment of his guards at midnight to invest the Palais de Justice and arrest the offending members. When the captain entered the hall where one hundred and seventy magistrates were seated in their robes of state, preserving the aspect of judicial dignity beseeming their exalted station, he was quite overwhelmed by the imposing spectacle. Recovering himself, he addressed the First President, requesting him to point out the two gentlemen named in his warrant, as he was not acquainted with their persons. Upon this, Huguet de Lemouville sprang up and exclaimed, "We are all Espremenils and Monsaberts: since you do not know them, you may arrest us all, or choose which you please." The officer retired in confusion. He presented himself several times to the court, but always with the same result, until the two gentlemen surrendered themselves, and were conducted to the state-prison.

On the 8th of May, a "bed of justice" was held at Versailles, and the edicts so carefully prepared were promulgated and registered. But the resistance of the Parliament was not thus overcome: on quitting the

palace, the members repaired to a tavern at Versailles, where they adopted a declaration to the effect "That the silence of the magistrates in the presence of his Majesty ought not to be regarded as an acquiescence in the edicts; that, on the contrary, they looked upon themselves as utter strangers to every thing which had passed, and that they would none of them accept any place in the new court of plenary jurisdiction."

Insurrections burst forth at once in every part of France. The province of Dauphine and the States of Brittany adopted the principles of the Parliaments which had been sent into exile. The Court found no party to support it anywhere: bankruptcy was imminent, agitation general, the fidelity of the army suspicious, and the disaffection of the greater part of the nobility notorious. Under these circumstances, the King found it necessary to yield to the nation, and he proclaimed his intention of convoking the States-General, fixing the opening of them for the 1st of May, 1789. At the same time, the Archbishop of Toulouse was dismissed, and Necker appointed to the ministry of Finance.

The winter of 1788–9 was one of unusual severity. Many of the French nobility kept their houses open to feed the famishing population, but no one was more active in this work of benevolence than the Duke of Orleans. Passing, one day, in his cabriolet through the quarter of the Faubourg de St. Germain, he was so affected by the picture of misery that presented itself there, that he suddenly stopped, hired spacious apart-

ments for three months, in which he opened a public kitchen, and distributed thence, at his own expense, a daily supply equivalent to the wants of the necessitous. In this humane conduct he was imitated by his amiable duchess, as well as by his sister the Duchesse de Bourbon.

The Queen's party and the zealous Royalists now began to discover that they had made a serious error in declaring irreconcileable enmity to the Duke of Orleans. His immense popularity, which was extending daily, was certain to exercise a powerful influence on the elections to the States-General, and it was therefore deemed advisable to conciliate his friendship. For this purpose, it was proposed that Mademoiselle d'Orleans should be contracted to the Duc d'Angoulême, son of the Count d'Artois, and that the young Duc de Chartres (since Louis Philippe) should be united to the daughter of the King of Naples, and consequently to a niece of Marie Antoinette. Before, however, the negotiations had assumed a definite shape, the Duke of Orleans published a "Circular of Instructions to the Constituencies in electing Deputies," and the democratic tendency of this document was so offensive to the Court, that the project of the double marriage was laid aside.

These "Instructions" have been grossly misrepresented, and it is therefore necessary to place them at length before our readers. They were addressed to his deputies and agents, requesting them to persuade the several constituencies over which he was likely to have

influence, to elect as their deputies only such persons as would support the following articles of political faith :—

"ARTICLE I. Individual liberty shall be guaranteed to all Frenchmen. This liberty comprises,—

"1. The liberty of every man to live where he pleases; that of coming, going, or abiding at his discretion, whether within or beyond the kingdom, without prevention or hindrance, and without any necessity for permission, passport, certificate, or any other formality tending to interfere with the liberty of citizens.

"2. That no one can be arrested or made prisoner, save by virtue of a decree issued by the ordinary judges.

"3. That in case the States-General should be of opinion that provisional imprisonment may be sometimes necessary, it be ordained, that every person so arrested shall, within twenty-four hours, be placed in the hands of his natural judges, and that they shall be obliged to decide on the said imprisonment with the least possible delay; and furthermore, that provisional enlargement shall always be given on good bail, except when the prisoner has been arrested on a charge which would involve a capital punishment.

"4. That it be forbidden to every person, except those engaged in supporting justice, whether officers or soldiers, exempts or others, to make any attempt on the liberty of a citizen by virtue of any order what-

soever, under pain of death or corporal punishment, as it may be decided by the States-General.

"5. That every person who shall have solicited or signed such an order, or favoured its execution, shall be regarded as an accessory, and brought before the ordinary judges to be fined in damages, or to undergo corporal punishment, as the States-General shall determine.

"ART. II. The liberty of publishing opinions, forming a part of individual liberty, since man cannot be free while his thought is enslaved. Indefinite liberty of the press shall be conceded, subject to any restrictions which the States-General may impose.

"ART. III. The most absolute respect for every letter confided to the post shall be similarly ordained, and the surest means taken to prevent its violation.

"ART. IV. Every right of property shall be inviolable, and no one shall be deprived of it even for the public interests, unless recompensed at the highest price and without delay.

"ART. V. No tax shall be legal or leviable that shall not be granted by the nation in the Assembly of the States-General, and the said States shall only grant them for a limited time and up to the next convocation of the States-General, so that, if this convocation should not take place within the time, all taxes should cease and determine.

"ART. VI. The periodical meeting of the States-General shall be fixed at a short term; and in case of the demise of the Crown or a Regency, they shall hold

an extraordinary assembly within six weeks or two months. No proper means shall be neglected to ensure the execution of what shall be determined on this head.

"ART. VII. Ministers shall be responsible to the States-General for the employment of the funds confided to them, and accountable to the said States for their conduct, in all that relates to the laws of the kingdom.

"ART. VIII. The debts of the State shall be consolidated.

"ART. IX. Taxes shall not be voted until the extent of the national debt be made known, and the expenses of the State regulated and verified.

"ART. X. Taxes shall be granted by general consent, and levied equally on all classes.

"ART. XI. Attention shall be paid to the reform of civil and criminal legislation.

"ART. XII. The establishment of divorce shall be demanded as the only means of avoiding the scandal of ill-assorted unions and separations.

"ART. XIII. The best means shall be sought for ensuring the execution of the laws of the kingdom, so that none of them can be infringed without involving some one in responsibility.

"ART. XIV. The deputies to the States-General shall be invited not to enter into any deliberation on the affairs of the kingdom until individual liberty shall have been established, and not to consent to any tax until the constitutional laws of the kingdom

shall have been fixed. Moreover, I wish that my agents shall abstain from making any opposition in the name of my rights to any demands of the Third Estate which shall appear just and reasonable, and this whether the votes be given by each order separately or by the three conjunctively.

"ART. XV. I desire that my agents in those districts where protests are made against the rights and regulations of rangerships, shall declare in my name that I consent to their abolition, and that I join with the constituencies in demanding their suppression, reserving, however, the ordinary rights of the chase.

"ART. XVI. I further desire, that, on all the articles not provided for, or insufficiently developed in the present instructions, my agents or proxies shall follow the principles laid down in the work hereto annexed, entitled, 'Advice to be followed in the Assemblies of Constituencies,'* principles which I adopt generally, and which I desire my authorised agents to diffuse to the utmost of their power. It is with these feelings that I entrust them with my proxies, and I desire that no one of my agents should depart from them, but that he should use every exertion to propagate the above principles, and thus justify the confidence I have reposed in them."

These, then, are the "terrible and abominable" Instructions which have been denounced by royalist writers as full of treason to the Monarchy and of danger to civil society itself. We do not find in them

* This work was written by the Abbé Sièyes.

a single article inconsistent with reverence for the Sovereign of a constitutional kingdom, though they certainly are opposed to the system of despotism established by Louis XIV. But we are enabled to give the most decisive evidence that these Instructions, so far from being regarded as disloyal, were approved and applauded by the King himself. In one of the journals of the time we find the following intelligence: "The instructive Memoir of the Duke of Orleans to his vassals has called forth the protests of interested and avaricious men, who have private reasons for desiring that no reforms should be effected in France. But this has not prevented the King and Queen from expressing their satisfaction to His Royal Highness in the presence of the Count d'Artois, the Princes of Condé and Conti, and the Ducs de Bourbon and Enghien."*

But the constitutional, philosophic, and humane character of these instructions, is very happily illustrated in a circular addressed by the duke's private secretary† to all the curates on the estates of the House of Orleans, which we shall, therefore, lay before our readers:

"March 7, 1789.

"Monsieur le Curé,—You will probably take pleasure in informing your parishioners that His Royal

* *Courrier de l'Europe*, April 7th, 1789.

† He was an occasional secretary to the Duke of Orleans, and the agent for his extensive estates in the diocese of Soissons. The circular was published in the *Courrier de l'Europe*, of March 27, 1789.

Highness the Duke of Orleans, whose glory it is to be just and generous, and who will always prefer the advantage of the public to his own, has commanded me expressly and in writing, as having the honour to be his representative on part of his estates, to use my utmost efforts that the following recommendations should be adopted by the constituencies with which I may have any concern." The fourth, tenth, fourteenth and fifteenth Articles of the preceding Instructions are then quoted; after which the writer continues: "Finally, I am commanded to collect all the grievances of the labourers and villagers; to hear what each of them has to say in support of the validity of his rights, and to state their just complaints in the General Assembly of every constituency at which I shall have the honour to be present. I shall support them with all my might; and on my return to Paris, I shall supply such information to His Royal Highness the Duke of Orleans as will enable him to protect and support with all his influence, the well-founded demands of his faithful vassals, the honest and useful inhabitants of the country.

"I entreat you, Monsieur le Curé, to aid me with all the information you can bestow on the amount of good which it is possible to accomplish in your district. Be persuaded that you will acquire a substantial right to the friendship of His Royal Highness the Duke of Orleans, and to my lively gratitude, by procuring for me opportunities, and indicating the means by which this prince may manifest his justice

and his affection for all citizens, without distinction, who reside on his estates or his other possessions.

"His Royal Highness is especially anxious that the curés who are destined to bring consolation and happiness to the rural districts, may obtain from the States-General decent and suitable endowments, which may enable them to succour and relieve their parishioners in all cases of distress. I shall, consequently, be much obliged to you, Monsieur le Curé, if you will have the kindness to impart to me from yourself, and procure for me from your brethren, all possible information on this subject; on the insufficiency of the income of the curés in your vicinity, on the means of facilitating public education, and especially of ensuring the subsistence of the aged and infirm, of orphans, and of the poor, who are men and citizens, and who ought to find the patrimony which they do not possess, or the employment which they have failed to procure, in a system of vivifying and salutary legislation.

"These objects, Monsieur le Curé, alike interest religion, the State, and humanity. All good citizens should unite their moral force, their intelligence, and their patriotism, to discuss them with care, and attend to them with zeal, so that by wise plans, matured by reflection, by love of the public welfare, by the spirit of conciliation with which it is desirable that all should be animated, they may be able to place the national assemblies of the constituencies, and finally the august assembly of the States-General, in a con-

dition to fulfil the wishes of the nation, and the benevolent views of the King.

"I have the honour, &c.,

(Signed) "DE SIMON."

When we place these authentic documents beside the vague declarations against the Duke of Orleans, which we find in almost every history of the French Revolution, we must feel that great injustice has been done to the character of this prince by those who have contented themselves with repeating the calumnies of his enemies instead of investigating original sources.

"The effect of these 'Instructions' upon the public mind," says Mr. Wright, "was quite unparalleled. The accession of popularity he obtained was immense: the journals were filled with eulogies on his character, and, when he appeared in public, the very air rang with shouts of applause. Never did the presence of Titus, never did that of Henri Quatre, excite higher or more rapturous transports. Having visited the Italian comedy a few days after the publication of his 'Instructions,' the spectacle was necessarily discontinued, as the rounds of plaudits were incessant, —actors and spectators being literally intoxicated with this new idolatry. A similar display, attended with the same character of enthusiasm, was exhibited at a promenade of the Parisians to Long-Champs, in Passion-week. The duke, surrounded by his entire family, having presented himself to the people,

the multitude crowded around, prostrated themselves at his feet, and loaded him with their blessings."

But this popularity rendered him odious and suspected at Court; it was also made a pretext for implicating him as an accomplice in a fatal disturbance, with which he had no other connection than that of having been accidentally present at its commencement. The circumstances are very fairly stated by Mr. Wright, in his "Life and Times of Louis Philippe;" and we shall therefore extract his narrative.

"The people, who were still suffering from the high price of corn, became exasperated against a paper manufacturer, named Reveillon, who was so indiscreet as to say, 'That they ought to think themselves very well off in having bread even so cheap, and that sevenpence-halfpenny a-day was very good wages for working men.' In the fury of their indignation, they burnt the blockhead in effigy, and proceeded to his manufactory, in the quarter of St. Antoine, to wreak their further vengeance upon him, in the annihilation of his property; but a guard of soldiers, stationed in the street that led to the factory, for a while prevented the accomplishment of their purpose. While both parties were observing each other, the Duke of Orleans came up, being *en route* to the races at Vincennes, which he had himself previously fixed for that day. The mob instantly raising the most deafening cheers, he stopped to acknowledge the compliment, in a few conciliatory words, and then rode forward. His duchess, returning from the races in

the evening, was not deterred by the riot from taking the same route, and was received with similar acclamations; even the soldiers, respecting a Princess so immeasurably esteemed, made way for her carriage to pass. The barrier being now broken, the rioters seized on the advantage which it gave them, and rushing *en masse* into the factory, commenced the work of destruction. Additional troops were soon upon the spot; but the multitude were then so steeped in mischief, that it was not until many lives were sacrificed, that they could either be diverted from their object or repulsed. The duke's presence in the earlier part of the day, as well as the manner in which his duchess was permitted to pass through the street in the evening, although it facilitated the movements of the rioters, is capable of being accounted for in the simplest and most natural manner, yet such suspicions did appearances excite, that he felt it necessary to publish a defence of himself, which concluded with these words: 'But the truth shall not belong delayed. I know who are the true authors of the *émeute*, of which they wish to render me culpable. I know them; I shall demand the justice of the King against them; I shall denounce them openly; I shall deliver them up to the States-General for trial; I shall supplicate the severest sentence against them. Finally, I solemnly pledge myself to print and publish my denunciation.'"

Montjoie, the most worthless of pamphleteers, asserts, that the Duke of Orleans hired the operatives to destroy the property of their master, because Reveillon refused

to act as his agent in a projected insurrection. The decisive answer to this oft-repeated calumny, is the evidence of Reveillon himself, who declared that the instigator of the riot was the Abbé Leroi, author of a "History of Cardinals," against whom he instituted legal proceedings.

As to the charges of forestalling and regrating brought against the Duke of Orleans, not a particle of proof has ever been adduced in their support; and if they were ever so well established, the conduct attributed to him would have been innocent and even laudable. The export of corn is the greatest possible stimulus to cultivation; grain cannot be exported without causing a corresponding import; the very utmost that is done in such a case is, that one kind of food is exchanged for another. Political economy has long since established the Duke's acquittal by indisputably proving that a perfectly Free Trade in corn, and the total abolition of all restrictions on import and export, afford the best possible security against the perils of famine in any country. The assertion that scarcity in France was caused, or even aggravated by any mercantile transactions, belongs to that class of vulgar prejudices which attributed the recent distress in Ireland to the commercial speculations of the corn-merchants in Liverpool.

CHAPTER XI.

THE ABBE SIEYES.—DISPUTE BETWEEN THE NOBLES AND THE COMMONS. — THE REACTIONISTS OF THE INFANT REVOLUTION. — MIRABEAU.— NECKER.—HIS DISMISSAL.— CONSEQUENCES OF THAT EVENT IN PARIS.— DEFECTION OF THE FRENCH GUARDS.—POPULAR DEMONSTRATIONS.— ASSAULT ON THE HÔTEL DES INVALIDES, AND ON THE BASTILLE.—INTENTIONS OF THE COURT.—THE KING AT THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY. — INSURRECTION OF THE PEASANTRY. — IMPRUDENT BANQUET AT VERSAILLES.—RIOTS AT THE PALACE. — RETURN OF THE KING AND THE ROYAL FAMILY TO PARIS.—MISSION OF THE DUKE OF ORLEANS TO LONDON. — HIS RETURN. — CHARGES AGAINST HIM AND MIRABEAU. — DEFENCE OF MIRABEAU. — SPEECH OF THE DUC DE BIRON. — INCOME AND EXPENDITURE OF THE DUKE OF ORLEANS.—FLIGHT OF THE KING TO VARENNES.—CONDUCT OF THE DUKE OF ORLEANS ON THAT OCCASION.

THE elections to the States-General took place throughout France, between the 10th and 16th of March, 1789. Although the Duke of Orleans was known to be in open opposition to the Court, he was returned by the Noblesse for Paris, and by the bailliages of Villers-Cotterets and Crespy-en-Valois. He made his option for Crespy, and rather ostentatiously exhibited himself as a deputy of the *Tiers Etat*. When he passed in the procession which preceded the opening of the States-General, he was loudly cheered by the populace, while the Princes of the Royal Family were received with the most mortifying silence. On the 3rd of May, 1789, a day for ever memorable in European history, Louis XVI. opened the States-General at Ver-

sailles, in a hall rather hastily prepared for the purpose. The three Orders having taken their places, according to the ancient forms of the Monarchy, the King entered, accompanied by the Queen, the Princes, and the Court. When they began to arrange themselves, Louis XVI. was surprised to find that the Duke of Orleans was absent from his usual place among the Princes of the Blood: the Monarch looked round, and at length perceiving him among the deputies of his bailliage, he called him and said, "I am astonished not to see near me the first Prince of my Blood; under such circumstances as the present, it should be your duty not to abandon your King; besides, why create a schism amongst the princes?"—"Sire," answered the Duke of Orleans, "my birth gives me *always* the *right* to be near your Majesty, but my duty at this moment demands me to place myself in the rank assigned to me by the bailliage that has deputed me." Louis XVI. made no reply, and the Duke returned to his place among the popular deputies, who manifested great exultation at his thus sacrificing to them the privileges and elevation of his exalted rank.

On the next day the three Orders assembled. The Tiers État met in the common hall, and thus had the advantage of being in the hall of the States, and at the same time in its own place of meeting. The first important question that arose was the verification of power, which the Tiers Etat wished to have done by the united orders; while the clergy and nobility desired that it should be effected by each Order sepa-

rately. Behind this question, so frivolous in appearance, all parties perceived that the grave determination of their future form of proceedings was very slightly concealed. The Abbé Sièyes at once rose into reputation as a consummate statesman and politician, by the ability with which he argued the claims of the Tiers Etat; but the fame he had won as an orator and a pamphleteer, was speedily lost when at a later period he attempted to deal with the practical details of administration.* A fierce struggle ensued between the Orders; a large section of the clergy soon joined the Commons; but the nobles made the most vigorous efforts for the conservation of their ancient privileges. The Duke of Orleans proposed that the nobles should

* "Buonaparte said to me one day, 'That fool, Sièyes, is as credulous as a Cassandra.' In the intercourse—not very frequent, certainly—which I had with him, he appeared to be far beneath the reputation he had acquired. He reposed a blind confidence in a multitude of agents whom he had sent into all parts of France. Sièyes had written in his countenance, 'Give me money.' I recollect that one day I alluded to this expression in the anxious face of Sièyes to the First Consul. 'You are right,' observed he to me, smilingly; 'when money is in the question, Sièyes is quite a matter-of-fact man. He sends his ideology to the right-about, and thus becomes easily manageable: he readily abandons his constitutional dreams for a good round sum, and that is very convenient.' M. de Talleyrand, who is so capable of estimating men, and whose admirable sayings well deserve to occupy a place in history, had long entertained an indifferent opinion of Sièyes. One day, when he was conversing with the Second Consul concerning him, Cambacères said,—'Sièyes, however, is a very profound man.'—'Profound!' said Talleyrand; 'yes, he is a cavity—a perfect cavity, as you would say.'"—BOURRIENNE'S *Memoirs of Napoleon.*

cede the disputed point to the Tiers Etat; but his views were supported only by Clermont Tonnerre, Lusignan, Lolly-Tollendal, La Rochefoucauld, Nochechonart, Montesquieu, Duport, and Dionis du Lejour, though there were others who favoured his views, but were unwilling to have the appearance of deserting their order. On the 19th of June the nobles, under the presidency of the Duc de Luxembourg, voted an address to the King, complaining of the exorbitant claims advanced by the Commons; and so rapid had been the progress of popular opinion, that before the address could be communicated to Louis XVI., an address against it, signed by forty-three peers, was entered on the journals. The Duke of Orleans, who was not present at the sitting, transmitted his adhesion to the protest on the next day in the following terms:

"I declare that if my health had permitted me to attend yesterday's sitting, I would most readily have concurred in the protest, the sentiments and opinions of which are mine.

(Signed) "LOUIS PHILIPPE JOSEPH, OF ORLEANS."

This protest prepared the way for a more important measure.* On the 25th the minority of the peers,

* On the 20th of June the Tiers Etat, excluded by military force from their hall, assembled in a Tennis Court, and proclaimed themselves the National Assembly. To prevent their meeting at that place a second time, the Count d'Artois engaged the Tennis Court; but the deputies adjourned to the church of St. Louis, where they were joined by a large body of the clergy. The Duke of Orleans does not appear to have been present on either of these occasions.

including the Duke of Orleans, his eight supporters already mentioned, and about forty other deputies of the nobles,* seceded in a body and joined the Commons. The majority of the clergy had already adopted the same course, and the united body took the name of the National Assembly. At the request of the King, the remainder of the nobility united themselves to the general body, and thus the first phase of the French Revolution was accomplished.

The Duke of Orleans was elected the first President of the National Assembly by five hundred and thirty-three out of six hundred and sixty votes; but he refused to accept the office, which was conferred on Lefranc de Pompignan, Archbishop of Vienne. Had

* "Among these the most remarkable were, Menou, who afterwards commanded the French army in Egypt, which was defeated by Abercrombie; the Duke of Aiguillon, whose father had been Prime Minister under Louis XV.; De la Tour Maubourg, the Comte de la Touche, the Comte de Montmorenci, the individual who moved the abolition of titles, but who subsequently changed his political views, became Minister for Foreign Affairs in the Villele administration, and represented France at the Congress of Verona, which decided upon the employment of a French force to repress the movement in Spain; a policy highly objectionable, but for which he was rewarded with the title of Duke, and styled Duke Matthieu de Montmorenci, to distinguish him from the duke of the elder branch of that ancient family. Alexander de Lameth, so distinguished in the National Assembly, with his brother Charles, who took part in the Revolution of 1830; Marquis de Sillery, the husband of Madame de Genlis; Duke of Luynes; D'Andre, counsellor of the Parliament of Aix; the Comte de Verieux; Marquis de Biancourt; and D'Aguesseau." —*Rev. G. N. Wright.*

Orleans at this time entertained any notion of supplanting the King, he would have profited by his popularity with the Assembly, and made the president's chair a stepping-stone to the throne. But at the same time there is evidence that some of his partizans had formed some projects for changing the dynasty. Pamphlets appeared, in which Louis XVI. was compared to James II. of England; and it was insinuated that the Duke of Orleans should be invited to act the part of the Prince of Orange. This project, however, was only formed by those who feared that the Court would never honestly accept the Revolution, but would employ every resource of force and fraud to produce a reaction.

These suspicions were not groundless: in fact a powerful party existed—the more formidable because it was headed by the Queen herself—determined to resist the progress of reform, and re-establish the supremacy of the Monarch. On this subject the Marquis de Ferrières says positively: "Thirty regiments were marching on Paris; the pretext was the maintenance of public tranquillity, but the real object was the dissolution of the States-General."

The Abbé de Montgaillard is not less explicit:— "After the bed of justice of the 23rd of June, M. de Breteuil said, without any disguise, at Versailles, 'The King owes no account of his actions to what they call the nation; he is absolute master of his kingdom; and if his subjects revolt, he must employ the most terrible chastisements to reduce them to obedience.' . . . From the same authority it was learned that the Duke of

Orleans, the Marquis de Lafayette, the Count de Mirabeau, the Abbé Sièyes, Barnave, Le Chapelier, Lally Tollendal, Mounier, and eight or ten other members of the National Assembly, were victims imperiously demanded by the safety of the Throne and of the State. A company of artillery had been quartered in the Queen's stables, which fronted the hall where the National Assembly held its sittings, and it was not concealed that in the event of a struggle, which was anticipated, this body would open with grape on the Assembly. When the Marshal de Broglie had taken the command of the troops destined to dissolve the Assembly of the States-General, the Baron de Breteuil, who might be considered in some sort as prime minister, from the boundless influence he exerted over the mind of the Queen, and likewise of the King, said openly, '*If it be necessary, we shall burn Paris, and decimate its inhabitants; great evils require great remedies.*' So late as 1794, the Baron de Breteuil still boasted of having given this advice."

Mirabeau called the attention of the National Assembly to the impending danger. An address was voted to the King, and presented to him on the 10th, and the evasive answer returned by his Majesty, was calculated to increase rather than allay the general apprehension. M. Necker was not consulted respecting these measures. He says, "I never knew with any degree of certainty the end at which the Queen's party wished to arrive. There were secrets, and secrets within secrets, and I believe that the King himself

was not acquainted with them all. It was probably determined, as circumstances afforded opportunity, to inveigle the King into measures which no one would have ventured to mention to him directly." On the 11th of July the first step was taken to effect a counter-revolutionary movement; Necker was dismissed and exiled from France; his friends in the cabinet shared his fate, and a new ministry was formed, composed of the most bitter enemies to progress and reform.

This intelligence began to be spread abroad in Paris on the morning of Sunday, the 12th of July, where it produced the greatest rage and consternation. Crowds began to assemble around the Palais Royal; they were harangued by Camille, Desmoulins, and other generals; plaster-casts of the busts of Necker and the Duke of Orleans (supposed to have been both exiled) were obtained and covered with crape; they were borne with all the forms of a funeral procession up the Rue Richelieu, along the Boulevards, and then through the cross streets to the Place Vendôme, where a regiment of dragoons was posted. The dragoons charged the mob, broke the busts, wounded some of the bearers, and killed one of them,—a soldier of the French guards. His body was left in a wine-store, but his bloody uniform, raised on a pike, became the banner of insurrection.

Baron de Besenval, who commanded the garrison of Paris, alarmed by the increasing disturbances, concentrated his forces on the *Place Louis XV.* (now the

Place de la Concorde) and in the Champs Elysées. Towards evening he heard that there was some rioting in the garden of the Tuilleries, and he ordered this space to be cleared by the Royal German regiment of dragoons. These foreigners are said to have used some unnecessary violence; several citizens were wounded, and one old man was killed by the Prince de Lambosc, the colonel in command. The mob, exasperated but not terrified, demanded arms; they forced open the shops of the gun-makers, and stormed the depôt of municipal arms at the Hôtel de Ville. Twelve hundred of the French guards, fully armed and accoutred, joined the mob at the Hôtel de Ville, vowing to avenge the death of their comrade. They had chosen as their leader one of their sergeant-majors, Hoche, a name subsequently conspicuous in the revolutionary wars. At ten in the evening they attacked the regiment of Royal Germans on the northern boulevards, and compelled them to retreat in great disorder on St. Cloud. Besenval, on hearing of this disaster, did not want to be attacked, but retreated with his soldiers to the Champ de Mars. During the night great numbers of the troops went over to the insurgents. In the meantime the electors of Paris assembled at the Hôtel de Ville, and elected a permanent committee of safety, over which Flesselles, the provost of the merchants, presided.

Several outrages had been committed on the property of private citizens by robbers, who took advantage of these commotions. Some authors assert that

these were in the pay of the Court; others, that they were paid by the Duke of Orleans. One story is just as true as the other. Neither the Court nor the Duke knew anything about the matter, for both were at Versailles the whole time. Hunger was the animating motive of some, thirst for plunder of others; there never was a time when the robbers and pickpockets of Paris needed bribes to stimulate them to the exercise of their vocation.

A civic militia, the nucleus of the future National Guard, was embodied; the entire regiment of French Guards, the finest body of men in the service, went over to the people;* the police tendered their aid to the Permanent Committee, and numerous soldiers from the different regiments of the line formed themselves into companies of the civic militia.

On the morning of the 13th, the Duc de Liancourt forced his way into the King's bed-chamber, and informed him of the events of the preceding evening in Paris, dwelling especially upon the defection of the French Guards. "It is then a revolt," cried the King. "No, Sire," replied the duke, "it is a revolution!" Orders were instantly given to cut off all communication between Versailles and the capital; the bridges at Sévres and St. Cloud were guarded by artillery, and

* Count de Mathon, the veteran Lieutenant-colonel of the French Guards, having vainly endeavoured to retain his men in their allegiance, broke his sword and burst into tears. In the course of the day he was struck with apoplexy, from which he never recovered.

steps taken to prevent an irruption of the populace into the palace.

The National Assembly met early, and an address to the King was adopted, supplicating him to withdraw the troops, and entrust the safety of Paris to the civic militia. Unhappily, the King, ignorant of the extent of disaffection among the troops, refused compliance. A spirited protest was immediately prepared; the new ministers were declared responsible for the calamities which had happened, or were likely to happen, and the Assembly voted its sittings permanent.

The morning of the 14th of July had scarcely dawned upon Paris, when the melancholy sound of the tocsin was heard in every direction. An immense crowd had bivouacked round the Hôtel de Ville; it rose, and stood for some moments in uncertainty, when an unknown voice shouted "To the Invalids!" At once the whole crowd marched towards the *Hôtel des Invalides*, accompanied by Ethis de Coury, a deputy from the Permanent Committee. On reaching the gates, Coury and some others summoned the governor, Sombreuil, to surrender the armoury and magazine. He replied, that he could not do so without an order from the minister of war. While the parley continued, however, the populace escaladed the fosse, aided by many of the pensioners themselves; the arms and munitions of war were seized in an instant, and the governor's own horses were yoked to the cannon on the esplanade, which were carried in triumph to the Hôtel de Ville. The next enterprise was an attack on

the Bastille—that formidable fortress and terrible prison, which had so long kept Paris in awe. The history of the storming of the Bastille, of which we have had a thousand different versions, but with no great variation of details, need not here be repeated. It was carried with great loss of life, and the victory of the people was sullied by the massacre of the officers and many of the soldiers of the garrison.

Flushed with success, the multitude next marched to attack the royal troops in the Champ de Mars; but Besenval, aware that several of his regiments would have gone over to the insurgents in a body, retired upon Sèvres, from whence he proceeded to Versailles, where, to his extreme astonishment, he found the Court so utterly ignorant of what had taken place in Paris, that the firing of the cannon at the Bastille had been mistaken for the rejoicings of the soldiers after a victory.

"In fact," says the Marquis de Ferrières, "the Court had resolved to act on this very night of the 14th. The regiments of the Royal Germans and Royal Foreigners, had received orders to hold themselves in readiness. The hussars were stationed on the square in front of the palace; the Life-guards occupied the courts. To these menacing preparations the Court joined an air of festivity, which, under the existing circumstances, was adding insult to cruelty. The Polignacs, Mesdames the King's aunts, Mesdames the Countesses of Provence and Artois, went together to the terrace of the Orangery. The bands of two regi-

ments were ordered to play. The soldiers, to whom wine had been dealt out unsparingly, formed dances. A brutal and insolent joy manifested itself on all sides; a troop of women, of courtiers, of men sold to despotism, regarded this spectacle with a satisfied eye, and animated it by their applause. Such was the levity, or rather the immorality, of these men, that assured, as they believed, of success, they gave themselves up to all the insolence of triumph. The National Assembly presented a very different aspect. A majestic, calm, firm countenance, a wise and tranquil activity, all announced the great interests with which it was occupied and the dangers of the Commonwealth. It was not through ignorance of the designs of the Court; the National Assembly knew that at the moment when Paris should be attacked, the regiments of Royal Germans, Royal Foreigners, and hussars were to surround the Hall where the States assembled, arrest the deputies whose zeal and patriotism had pointed them out as victims, and employ force in case of resistance.' It knew that the King was prepared on the following morning to compel the acceptance of the Declaration of the 23rd of June, and to dissolve the Assembly; and that already more than forty thousand copies of this Declaration had been sent to the officials in the provinces, with orders to proclaim and post it throughout the kingdom."

The news received from Paris crushed the counter-revolution. After some perilous delays, the King, accompanied only by his brothers, entered the National

Assembly, where he was received with ominous silence. In a few hurried words, he signified his anxiety to comply with the wishes of his people; and a deputation was immediately appointed to convey the happy intelligence to Paris. Events followed each other rapidly. The virtuous Bailly was chosen to preside over the Permanent Committee, instead of Flesselles, whom the mob had torn to pieces on some vague suspicions of treachery—and received the title of Mayor of Paris. The National Guard, recognised as an organic and constitutional force, was placed under the command of the Marquis de Lafayette. The second stage of the Revolution was accomplished, and in no part of it is there a trace of the agency of the Duke of Orleans.

On the 17th of July, Louis XVI. was induced to visit Paris, where his presence was expected to restore tranquillity and confidence. The unhappy Monarch prepared himself for this journey as for a martyrdom; he drew up an edict, appointing the Count de Provence to the Regency in case of his death or captivity, received the Holy Communion, and took a tender farewell of his family. No shouts of gratulation greeted him as he passed through Versailles: silent crowds of peasants joined his train from the villages on the road, and fearing to provoke some sudden conflict, he dismissed his escort at Sèvres. Bailly and the municipal authorities received the King at the barrier of Passy. They accompanied him to the Hôtel de Ville, through long lines of the National Guards, who bestowed upon

him no benediction. It was not until some of the popular favourites had vouched for his sincerity that the multitude raised a feeble shout of "Long live the King!"

Louis remained at the Hôtel de Ville until seven o'clock; he then returned to Versailles, and rejoined his family at nine. They received him as if he had been restored from the grave. Their fears were not altogether groundless; for the Parisian mob soon afterwards murdered Foulon and Berthier on the most vague suspicions, with circumstances of extraordinary barbarity.

"The day of the King's entry into Paris," says Alison, "was the first of the emigration of the noblesse. The violent aristocratical party, finding all their coercive measures overturned, and dreading the effects of popular resentment, left the kingdom. The Count d'Artois, the Prince of Condé, the Prince of Conti, Marshal Broglie, and the whole family of the Polignacs set off in haste, and arrived safely at Brussels,—a fatal example of defection, which, being speedily followed by the inferior nobility, produced the most disastrous consequences. But it was the same in all the subsequent changes of the Revolution. The leaders of the Royalist party, always the first to propose violent measures, were at the same time unable to support them when furiously opposed: they diminished the sympathy of the world at their fall from so high a rank, by shewing they were unworthy of it."

The storming of the Bastille was the signal for a

general insurrection of the peasants throughout France against their feudal lords. It was a war of the cottage against the castle, and it was conducted with as great ferocity as the Jacquerie of ancient times. France was then covered with castles, which, from the nature of their construction formed a kind of petty fortresses: indeed, they had served as such during the feuds of the middle ages, the wars of religion, and the fierce struggles of the Fronde. They were now regarded as checks imposed upon the miserable population that surrounded them,—in fact, as rustic Bastilles which ought to share the fate of that which had been destroyed in Paris. The destruction of these castles inspired habits of pillage, which led to the most disastrous results. Companies of incendiaries traversed the provinces, torch in hand; they spread such terror, that the apprehension of their approach threw whole districts into confusion. A body of peasants, hastily armed to oppose the brigands, fled before the dust raised by a flock of sheep; an entire village was evacuated on a false alarm, and several days elapsed before the peasants could be induced to return to their habitations.

The excitement and grief produced by these events in the National Assembly were at once violent and profound. The Viscount de Noailles and the Duc d'Aiguillon proposed to abolish all the vexatious privileges which, under the name of feudal rights, had oppressed the people. M. L. de Kerougal, a landholder of Brittany, appeared in the tribune in the dress of a

farmer, and drew a frightful picture of the feudal system. A kind of intoxication seized the Assembly: all orders, all classes, all the possessors of prerogatives of any kind hastened to remove them. The nobility set the first example, which was cheerfully followed by the clergy; and the deputies of the Commons relinquished the privileges of the provinces and the towns. On the memorable night of the 5th of August, the Assembly decreed,—

"The abolition of serfdom;

"The right of compounding for the seignorial dues;

"The abolition of the seignorial jurisdictions;

"The suppression of exclusive rights to hunt, to keep dove-cots, warrens, &c.;

"The redemption of tithes;

"The equality of taxes;

"The admission of all the citizens to civil and military employments;

"The abolition of the sale of offices;

"The suppression of all the privileges of towns and provinces; and

"The suppression of pensions obtained without claims."

On the 11th all the articles were presented to the Monarch, who accepted them, and also the title of "Restorer of French Liberty," conferred upon him by the unanimous vote of the National Assembly. During the whole of these proceedings the Duke of Orleans was merely passive; he joined in all the votes, though by the abolition of feudal rights, he sacrificed an annual income of more than £6000 sterling.

The Court did not endure these changes with patience. A plot was formed to convey the King to Metz, where, surrounded by an army of soldiers, faithful or supposed to be so, he might proclaim the edicts of the National Assembly null and void, and promulgate anew his declaration of the 23rd of June. Louis XVI., however, would not consent to the measure; it was then proposed by the courtiers to carry him off by force, but those who devised this daring step had not sufficient strength of character to carry it into execution. The secret of their designs oozed out, and excited the greatest possible anxiety and agitation in Paris. Every one dreaded an immediate attempt to effect a counter-revolution by military force.

An act of imprudence on the part of the King and Queen greatly increased this apprehension. On the evening of the 1st of October, the household troops gave a banquet to the regiment of Flanders, which had just arrived to garrison Versailles. The entertainment took place in the theatre of the palace. In the midst of the feast Louis XVI. entered, accompanied by Marie Antoinette, bearing the dauphin in her arms. At the same time the music played a popular air, the words adapted to which signified

> "O Richard! O my king!
> The universe forsakes you,
> And I alone on earth am found
> Still faithful to your cause."

The allusion was striking, and Marie Antoinette rendered it still more so by presenting the young dauphin

to the excited officers. Royal toasts were drunk, loyal vows were made, and the ladies of the Court presented white cockades to the officers, which were accepted with the greatest enthusiasm. On the 3rd of October the regiment of Flanders feasted the guards in their turn, on which occasion the enthusiasm was even greater than before, and some of the officers carried their royalist ardour so far as to trample on the tricolor flag.

These imprudencies provoked the alarming manifestations of the 5th and 6th of October. On the morning of the 5th an immense multitude of women went to Versailles from Paris with the vague purpose of making known to the King the great distress of the city, and demanding from him a supply of food. This spontaneous movement suggested to the National Guard that it would be advisable to march to Versailles, and bring the King back to the capital, where he might be placed beyond the reach of the counter-revolutionists. Foreseeing the consequences of this fatal resolution, Lafayette and the municipal authorities employed every art of persuasion to dissuade the National Guards and the citizens from persisting in their purpose: the discussion was protracted for some hours, until Lafayette, finding that the Guards were prepared to march without him, placed himself at their head. Notorious as these facts are, it has been asserted that Lafayette and the municipality were bribed by the Duke of Orleans to suggest this enterprise. We shall soon find that, at this very time, Lafayette was

one of the most dangerous enemies of the Duke of Orleans.

It was four o'clock in the evening when the National Guards marched from Paris. They were accompanied by crowds of vagrants, unemployed workmen, and other dangerous classes of Paris, to many of whom Lafayette imprudently distributed arms. It was midnight when this disorderly assemblage, drenched with rain and splashed with mud, entered Versailles, where they found such scanty accommodation as might be expected from the unforeseen arrival of one hundred thousand men in a small town.

The night was passed in perfect tranquillity. Intelligence of the King's having formally accepted the constitution satisfied the greater part of the National Guard; but the women who had preceded them, and the vagabond hordes by whom they had been accompanied, began at the first dawn to spread themselves over the courts and gardens of the palace, breaking open every door and gate which impeded their intrusive curiosity. Some sharp collisions took place between the rioters and the household troops; shots were interchanged, and the passions of the plunderers being thus kindled, they resolved to storm and pillage. They had possession of several of the apartments; had murdered many of the household troops, and were on the point of rushing in upon the King and Royal Family, when Lafayette arrived with the National Guards, and, by almost superhuman efforts, succeeded in restoring something like order. The King presented himself

at the balcony, when an unknown person shouted out, "The King to Paris!" The cry was at once taken up by the National Guards; the demand of the armed multitude was irresistible; and Louis XVI. and his family had to make immediate preparations for a hasty departure.

Violent party writers have attributed the whole of these sad scenes to the contrivance of the Duke of Orleans without adducing a particle of evidence to support the charge. But no one can read the narrative without seeing that there was nothing like contrivance in any part of the series of events. Bribes were not wanting to send hungry and ignorant women to demand food from the authorities; and bribes were not needed to persuade the National Guard that arrangements were made for the flight of the King; and that they could only be sure of his person by bringing him to Paris. It needed no bribe to induce pickpockets and thieves to flock to a spot where probable confusion pointed to a hope of plunder; and no contrivance could have ensured that the first volley of the guards at the palace should have been fatal to L'heritier, whose death caused the sudden burst of popular indignation. It was late in the morning of the 6th when the Duke of Orleans came to Versailles, and the first intelligence he received of the melancholy events was from a party of robbers, whom he casually encountered at the bridge of Sèvres.

It was not until half-past one that the King and

the Royal Family quitted Versailles. A deputation from the National Assembly, in which the Duke of Orleans was included, had previously presented an address lamenting the melancholy events of the morning; and all agree that the deputies treated the monarch with the respect due to their sovereign. The journey of the Royal Family to Paris was most melancholy; but it was not, as some have said, aggravated by the display of the heads of the murdered guards displayed on pikes. The brigands who paraded these horrible trophies had quitted Versailles more than six hours before the Royal Family started. It was six in the evening when Louis XVI. reached Paris. He presented himself to the municipality at the Hôtel de Ville in the midst of an immense multitude, and after a brief delay retired to the Tuilleries, which thenceforth became his habitual residence.

But though the King had consented to return to Paris, he was profoundly distrusted by the great body of the citizens. Although no actual plot was formed against him, it is unquestionable that many of the ardent patriots speculated on dethroning him, and proclaiming the Dauphin king, with the Duke of Orleans as lieutenant-general of the kingdom. It is not improbable that the Prince favoured these projects, though he certainly took no active part in forwarding them. He was too indolent to be ambitious, but he would not have refused power if it had been won for him by the exertions of others. The Marquis de Lafayette, aware of the great popularity which

the Duke of Orleans enjoyed in Paris, and probably acquainted with some intrigues for investing him with the chief authority of the kingdom, induced the King to send this Prince as ambassador-extraordinary to England; and Orleans, in spite of the opposition of his principal friends, accepted the mission.* Had he been plotting against his sovereign, he would not thus have thrown away the fairest opportunity of success he could ever have expected. The National Assembly protested against his departure; the citizens of Boulogne attempted to prevent his embarkation; but nevertheless he persevered. He reached London on the 21st of October, and on the 28th was presented by his friend the Prince of Wales to George III., who received him with all the honours due to his exalted station.

The enemies of the Duke of Orleans took advantage of his absence to assail his character with the most

* He addressed the following letter of thanks to the King on accepting the mission :—

"Paris, 13th October, 1789.

"SIRE,—Deign to accept my sincere and very respectful thanks for the special mission with which your Majesty has charged me to the King of England. This mark of your confidence is, under present circumstances, the most flattering testimony of your kindness towards me, at the same time that it makes known to all France the justice which your Majesty renders to those sentiments of zeal and devotion which I have never for a moment ceased to cherish for the person of your Majesty, your glory, your true interests, and those of the nation, which are inseparable. In executing your commands, I feel that I am insuring the continuance of that confidence with which your Majesty honours me, and preserving the esteem of my fellow-countrymen."

odious imputations. It was said by the Royalists that he had gone out of the way to avoid the pursuit of justice, though everybody knew that he had been entrusted with an honourable and important mission by the King. On the other hand, the Republicans were not sorry to see a Prince of the Blood held responsible for the excesses of the multitude at Versailles. Again, the Prince's friends regarding his absence at this crisis as a kind of desertion of their party, were very cold in his defence. Mirabeau, when told of his departure, exclaimed, "The fellow is not worth the trouble we are taking for him." Horace Walpole, no despicable judge of men and things, gave the same opinion of the duke, but expressed it in more moderate language.

Whilst his reputation was thus assailed in Paris, the Duke of Orleans led a gay, dissipated life in London. He was a favourite guest at Carlton House, and was on intimate terms with Fox, Grey, Sheridan, and the other great Whigs of the day. None of these statesmen formed a high estimate of his abilities, and Mr. (afterwards Earl) Grey, always spoke of him as a political nullity. On the 4th of February, 1790, Louis XVI. took an oath of fidelity to the new constitution prepared for France, to which, on the 13th, the Duke of Orleans sent his adhesion. Some time afterwards, the Assembly resolved that this oath should be taken by all the military bodies; and the 14th of July, the anniversary of the storming of the Bastille, was chosen for this national solemnity, which was called the Act of Federation. The Duke of Orleans

had completed all the business entrusted to his charge in London: he appears also to have become weary of English society, where the French Revolution, at first hailed with enthusiasm, was beginning to fall rapidly into disrepute. But he was still more anxious to return to Paris from his knowledge of the atrocious charges which had been got up against him. On the other hand, the Marquis de Lafayette was very anxious that the Duke should remain in England, as he feared that his presence in Paris might cause some new commotions. Under these circumstances, the Duke addressed a remarkable letter to his friend the Count de la Touche, which was read on the 6th of July in the National Assembly. The following is a copy:—

"London, July 3, 1790.

"I beg you, Sir, as early as possible, in my name, to submit to the National Assembly the facts which are here set forth.

"On the 25th of last month I had the honour to write to the King, informing his Majesty that I was preparing to return to Paris immediately. My letter must have reached M. de Montmorin on the 29th of the same month. I had even taken leave of the King of England, and fixed my departure for this day, 3rd July, in the afternoon; but this morning the ambassador of France has called upon me, accompanied by M. de Boinville, aide-de-camp of M. de Lafayette, sent by him on a special mission to me.

"This gentleman informed me that M. de Lafayette

conjured me not to return to Paris, urging one most important argument in support of his opinion, namely, the disturbances which would inevitably follow from a mischievous use of my name. Undoubtedly I ought not lightly to compromise the public peace, and I have determined to suspend my course of action, in the hope that the National Assembly will determine the line of conduct which I am to pursue.

"It was M. de Lafayette who first proposed to me, in the name of the King, the mission which his Majesty wished to confide to me. The conversation which took place on that occasion is preserved in an *exposition* of my conduct; this I had determined not to publish till after my return to Paris; but on the occurrence of this new incident, I resolved on giving it immediate publicity.

"Among the motives which M. de Lafayette presented to induce me to accept this mission, the principal was, that my departure removing all pretext from the discontented to use my name for purposes of excitation and tumult, he, M. de Lafayette, would find the maintenance of peace in Paris less difficult; and this consideration alone was sufficient to determine me. I accepted this mission, yet the capital has not been tranquil; and though the promoters of tumult have not been able to use my name to raise them, they are not afraid to abuse it in twenty libels, in order to fix suspicions upon me.

"It is time to imagine who are those ill-disposed persons whose projects seem always to be known,

although no proof can be adduced by which they may be traced out with a view either to punish or repress them. It is time to ascertain why my name should be used rather than any other as a pretext for popular movements; it is time that I should no longer be impeached by a phantom without giving me any opportunity of testing its reality.

"I solemnly declare that, since the 25th of last month, my residence in England was no longer useful to the interests of the nation and the service of the King; in consequence of which I desired to resume my functions as a deputy to the National Assembly. My private wishes carry me thither; the decrees of the Assembly seem to recall me there still more imperatively; and unless the Assembly shall decide to the contrary, and signify its decision to me, I shall persist in my first resolution. If, contrary to my expectation, the Assembly should decide that there is no occasion to deliberate on my demand, I shall conclude that anything said by the Sieur de Boinville is to be considered as if it had not happened, and that nothing intervenes to prevent my rejoining the Assembly of which I have the honour to be a member.

"Having communicated these facts to the National Assembly, I beg you will lay upon the table these details signed by me, and solicit the decision of the Assembly upon this subject.

"I send a copy of the present letter to his Majesty, by M. de Montmorin, and also to M. de Lafayette.

(Signed) "LOUIS PHILIPPE D'ORLEANS."

The Duc de Biron then moved that the Prince should be invited to return, that he might justify his conduct; but the motion not being seconded, no vote was taken. On the fifth day, however, from the date on which the letter was read, the Duke of Orleans presented himself to the National Assembly, and, as he advanced to take his seat, was received with the most enthusiastic applause. After a short pause, he ascended the tribune to take the civic oath, and addressed the Assembly in the following terms:—

"Will the Assembly permit me to make a few observations before I take the civic oath?"—"Yes, yes!" resounded from all sides. "Whilst, with the permission of this Assembly, and in conformity with the wish of the King, I was absent in England, you decreed that each national representative should take the civic oath, of which you have arranged the form. I then lost no time in sending you my adhesion to this oath; I now lose no time in renewing it in the midst of you. The day approaches when France is going to unite solemnly for this object, in which all will utter only sentiments of love for the country and the King; for a country so dear to citizens who have just recovered their liberty; for a King, so worthy by his virtues to reign over a free people, and to associate his name with the greatest and happiest epoch of the French monarchy. This day shall see all differences of opinion vanish for ever, and all interests united for the happiness and glory of France. For myself, who have never formed a wish but for liberty,—I cannot but solicit from you

a most scrupulous examination of my principles and my conduct. I can have no merit in making any sacrifices, since my individual wishes have always either anticipated or followed your decrees; and the oath which my lips are now about to pronounce, has long since been graven on my heart.

"I swear to be faithful to the nation, to the law, and to the King, and to maintain to the utmost of my power the constitution decreed by the National Assembly and accepted by the King."

The federation was celebrated on the 14th of July, 1790, with extraordinary splendour and enthusiasm. Deputations from the army, the navy, and from all the National Guards in the kingdom, assembled round "the altar of the country," erected in the midst of the Champ de Mars. In the midst of the vast crowd mass was celebrated by Talleyrand-Perigord, Bishop of Autun, assisted by two hundred priests in white robes, girt with tricolored sashes. Louis XVI. took the civic oath amidst the crash of military music and the loud cheers of the multitude, which almost drowned the salvos of artillery. A universal amnesty was proclaimed, and the fairest prospects of peace and liberty seemed opening on France. Unfortunately, at this moment the Court of the Châtelet presented an accusation at the bar of the Assembly against Mirabeau and the Duke of Orleans, charging them with complicity in the violent scenes of the 5th and 6th of October, at Versailles, and complaining that proofs of the charge had been withheld by the Committee

of Investigation appointed to inquire into the origin of these events.

The criminal procedure instituted by the Court of the Châtelet against the supposed authors of the riot of the 6th of October, which was printed by order of the National Assembly, fills two large octavo volumes, and contains the depositions of three hundred and ninety-four witnesses. We may dispense with an investigation of any portions of its contents save those which relate to the conduct of the Duke of Orleans. Several declared that they had heard of the Duke having been seen in Versailles on the evening of the 5th; but to this hearsay stands opposed the concurrent testimony of most respectable citizens and men of letters, that the Duke did not quit the Palais Royal from the evening of the 4th until the morning of the 6th, and that he did not reach Versailles until the disturbances had been quelled by the King's promise to return to Paris. In fact, the chief witness stands self-convicted of having mistaken the day, for he states that he saw the Duke for the first time after Lafayette had harangued the mob from the balcony, and this took place at ten o'clock on the morning of the 6th. There is, however, evidence that when he appeared, the multitude shouted "Long live the Duke of Orleans!" It is unnecessary to pursue this; the account already given shews that the march of the Parisian mob to Versailles was not the result of concert or premeditation. When there is no conspiracy, it is useless to dwell on the innocence of those who are accused of being conspirators.

Mirabeau defended himself in person from the charges brought against him by the Court of the Châtelet. The Duke of Orleans absented himself from the discussion; but his friend the Duc de Biron appears to have been authorised to make the following speech in his defence.

"GENTLEMEN,

"Nothing can be more exact than the statement of facts which you have just heard from M. de Mirabeau, in which most of what I wished to say is comprised. I ask your permission to add some explanations which may not be entirely useless. I was unacquainted with the proposition made to the Duke of Orleans by M. de Lafayette until the moment of its execution. I shall always feel pleasure in my attachment to the Duke of Orleans, because I am acquainted with the purity of his intentions. He had confidence in me, and yet it was not until the moment he was on the point of setting out for England that he informed me of his purpose, which grieved me very sincerely. I told him that a sacrifice really so great was very liable to be misinterpreted; for it *was* a sacrifice, to go out of the way at a time when it was sought to accuse him of imaginary crimes which his mere presence would have overwhelmed with the contempt they deserve. The Duke of Orleans answered me, that he made this sacrifice because he was desirous of convincing the King of the purity of his intentions; that M. de Lafayette had informed him of his name being abused to

excite seditious troubles at Paris; that there would be less difficulty in the reestablishment of order, if this phantom, which was placed at the head of all revolutions, should be removed from the eyes of the people. I ventured to combat the laudable motives assigned by the Duke of Orleans, but had not the good fortune to succeed. The Prince set out, and two days after his departure, I heard that M. de Lafayette had said that the Duke's letters of credit to England—letters which I had seen, for it was conceded that they should be shewn to me, and which were also shewn to me by M. de Montmorin, minister for Foreign Affairs,—were letters of grace and pardon. I deemed it my duty immediately to communicate to M. de Lafayette the report I had heard, and I begged him, more for the sake of his own honour, than for that of the Duke of Orleans, at once to contradict it in writing. This M. de Lafayette very faithfully did. I have his note, and will read it to the Assembly." (*He read the note.*)

"Permit me, gentlemen, to go back a little farther: The Duke of Orleans was one of the first followers of liberty; he professed it openly; his instructions to his procurators for the States-General have, perhaps, the merit of having contributed to that Revolution from which we expect such beneficial consequences. The conduct of this Prince has, I venture to say, been consistent ever since; for after having given his instructions, he has displayed the moderation which ought to be the characteristic of a man who was perhaps the

first of his family to encourage so sublime an idea. After the troubles of the 13th of July, when the bust of the Duke of Orleans was so criminally borne in procession—well, because it had been reported that he authorized that demonstration, the Duke of Orleans was unwilling to shew himself to the people. He had no reason for any apprehension; he knew that he would be well received, but he still held himself aloof, for he did not wish to pass for the chief of an insurrection which might disquiet the King. When the King shewed such confidence in the Assembly as to come to consult it and place in its hands the destiny of the kingdom, and when a deputation from the National Assembly departed from Versailles to announce to the City of Paris the King's generous resolution to confide himself and his family to the care of the citizens, the Duke of Orleans refused to be a member of this deputation, and even avoided Paris. He would not expose himself to the popularity which he is accused of having sought, and the publicity which he has always avoided. I confess that it is one of his errors to have neglected popular favour too much: it is glorious to be beloved by a great people; and it is, perhaps, blamable always to reject the display of its attachment. Might I venture to speak of myself, I would mention that on the same day I was pointed out by some of my comrades, the French Guards, as fit to be their commander. I do not presume to claim these honourable testimonies as a personal glory to myself; I attribute them to a name which was justly dear to those brave troops—to the

name of a man who commanded them for forty years, and during the whole period was regarded as their father.* But I resisted this urgency; I believed it inconsistent with my duty to accept, without the King's order or permission, the command of troops designed for the guardianship of his person. With tears in my eyes I thanked my comrades, and no further mention was made of the matter.

"Permit me, gentlemen, to add, that you will easily come to a decision on this important question if you bear in mind what the moderate conduct of the Duke of Orleans has been, what the depositions against him are, and what is the character of the witnesses. Is the name of one defender of freedom to be seen amongst them? And can we suppose that all would have kept silence if any believed him culpable? But I pledge myself, in the name of the Duke of Orleans, that he will give you such explanations as can leave no possible doubt of his intentions, and as will establish the purity of the principles by which he has been actuated, and the baseness of the motives which have suggested the calumnies of which he has been the object."

After a short speech from Barnave, the National Assembly unanimously resolved, that no grounds for accusation existed against Mirabeau, or the Duke of Orleans; and not a particle of evidence has been subsequently adduced to shew that this verdict ought not to be ratified by posterity.

On the 3rd of August, 1790, the day after this deci-

* Marshal de Biron, the uncle of the speaker.

sion had been pronounced, the Duke of Orleans came to the National Assembly, and ascending the tribune, addressed the members in the following terms:—

"GENTLEMEN,

"Compromised in the criminal proceedings instituted before the Châtelet of Paris, on the denunciation of facts that took place at Versailles on the 6th day of October; pointed out by that tribunal as being liable to arrest, and subjected to your judgment as to my guilt or innocence, I believed it to be my duty to abstain from appearing amongst you in the sittings in which you have been occupied on this subject.

"Confiding in your justice, my expectation has not been deceived, that your proceedings alone would be sufficient to establish my honour.

"M. de Biron has yesterday made an engagement in my name, that I would leave you in no doubt—that I would throw a light upon the least details of this dark affair. I demand to speak this day only to ratify this obligation. There remains to me still a great duty to fulfil.

"You have declared that I was not in a position to be accused; it remains for me to prove that I was not in a position even to be suspected. I must destroy those false assertions, those uncertain presumptions, disseminated with so much confidence by calumny, and received with so much avidity by malevolence.

"But, gentlemen, the necessary *éclaircissements* must be given in the presence of those who are inter-

ested in contradicting them, and of those who are charged with being privy to them.

"Such are the obligations which I come here to contract. I owe it to myself, to this assembly, to the entire nation, to fulfil them.

"The time has now arrived when it should be clearly demonstrated, that those who have supported the cause of the people and of liberty, who have arrayed themselves against all abuses, who have concurred with all their might for the restoration of France, have been directed solely by a sense of justice, and not by any base motives of ambition or vengeance.

"Having written down these few observations, I shall lay them upon the table of this great assembly, that I may impart to them all the authenticity that can emanate from or depends on me."

But this is not all: the Duke of Orleans commenced a prosecution against the witnesses who had deposed most strongly as to his presence with the mob; but they fled before they could be brought to trial.*

It has been generally assumed that the Duke of Orleans possessed enormous wealth at the commencement of the French Revolution. Countless tales are told of the millions he expended in buying up corn to produce artificial famine, in hiring voters and purchasing insurrection. The fact, however, happens to be,

* During his residence in London, the Duke of Orleans published a clever and moderate justification of himself; but unfortunately, this has been frequently confounded with a forged "Mémoire Justificatif," which was disavowed and denounced by the Duke himself at the time of its publication.

that he was, at the time, on the very verge of bankruptcy. His father had left behind him a vast amount of debt, secured by mortgages on the estates; and had besides bequeathed six millions of francs as a fortune to his daughter, which was strictly claimed by the Prince, her husband. Enormous sums had been expended on the buildings of the Palais Royal, which were slow in yielding any return; and there exists an important document, from the pen of the superintendent of the Duke's finances, shewing that his expenditure was much greater than his income could sustain.*

Plots to favour the escape of Louis XVI. from the

* This remarkable document concludes with the following summary:—

INCOME.	livres.	livres.
Appanage		3,915,782
Patrimonial inheritance	1,624,628	
Acquired estates	58,150	2,829,477
Rents and interest on investments	648,384	
Returns from houses, &c.	498,315	
	TOTAL	6,745,259

DEBTS.	livres.	
Debts of the late Duke bearing an interest of	2,011,795	
Personal debts of the present Duke, bearing an interest of	2,662,790	
Interest on debts to builders, tradesmen, &c.	148,311	
TOTAL		4,782,896
NET INCOME		livres 1,962,363

But at this time the National Assembly had resolved to take away the appanages from the Royal Princes, and to give each of them pensions of one million a-year in their stead. When this

capital, were rife during the spring of 1791. There was one which had some prospect of success. It was proposed that the King should spend the festival of Easter at St. Cloud, where he could, without offence, avail himself of the services of those priests who had been too conscientious to take the constitutional oath. Once beyond Paris, it would have been easy to place detachments of the military at proper posts, which would have escorted the Royal Family to the frontier before any efforts could be made to intercept them. On the 18th of April, this plot was either discovered or suspected by the Parisians: the tocsin rang from the church of St. Roch, the drums of the National Guard beat to arms; vast crowds assembled round the Tuilleries, so that the King and Queen, who were on the point of starting, had to quit their carriages and return to the palace. This was a popular movement, with which the Duke of Orleans could have nothing to do, for he was at the time in Vanvers, on a visit to his sister, the Duchess de Bourbon.

arrangement took place, there would have been an annual deficiency of ..... 983,452 livres,
with probably floating debt to the amount of 400,000 „

TOTAL..... 1,383,452 livres.

To say nothing of the expenditure necessary to sustain the Duke of Orleans and his family in a condition suitable to their rank.

The Duke's claim for the repayment of the dowry assigned by Louis XV. to Mademoiselle de Montpensier, daughter of the Regent, when she became Queen of Spain, was virtually disallowed by the National Assembly. The consideration of it was indefinitely adjourned, and the money never was paid.

The unfortunate flight to Varennes followed. Before quitting Paris, Louis XVI. drew up a solemn protest against all the changes which had been made in the government of France since the month of October, 1789, annulling all his subsequent acts, as having been extorted from him during a period of captivity. It was an irremediable severance of the King from the Revolution. We need not dwell on the recognition of Louis XVI. by the son of a postmaster, on his arrest and his sad return to Paris as a prisoner. But it is of importance to shew that the Duke of Orleans did not take advantage of a crisis,—the most favourable that could possibly have occurred, if he possessed a particle of the criminal ambition so frequently attributed to him. On the contrary, he was the first to oppose the resolution for declaring the throne vacant, which was vehemently urged in the National Assembly. "So long," said he, "as the King remains on the soil of France, he alone can be our sovereign." On the following day (June 26th, 1791), he addressed the letter we subjoin to a newspaper which proposed the deposition of the King and the appointment of the Duke of Orleans as Regent :—

"SIR,

"Having read, in your journal, your opinion as to the measures that should be taken on the return of the King, and that, also, which your justice and impartiality have dictated on my account, I beg to repeat, through the same medium—what I have publicly declared since the 21st and 22nd of this month to many

members of the National Assembly—that I am ready to serve my country on land, on sea, in a diplomatic capacity, in every office which shall demand only zeal and an unlimited devotedness to the public good; but should the question of a Regency arise, I renounce, at this moment and for ever, the rights which the Constitution gives me. I shall protest that, after having made such sacrifices for the happiness of the people and the cause of liberty, I am no longer permitted to have the class of a simple citizen, in which I have placed myself, with the firm determination to remain in that order during life, and that ambition would be in me inexcusable inconsistency. It is not to impose silence on my calumniators that I make this declaration. I am well aware that my zeal for the national liberty, for that equality which is its foundation, will always feed the flame of personal animosity. I despise their calumnies: my public life will refute and expose their blackness and absurdity; but it is my bounden duty to declare upon this occasion my irrevocable sentiments and my fixed resolution, that public opinion may not rest on a false foundation in its calculations as to the measures it may be found necessary to adopt.

(Signed) "Louis Philippe d'Orleans."

If the Duke of Orleans had been ambitious of the crown, circumstances had now placed it within his grasp, and his rejection of such an opportunity ought to preclude the necessity of any further vindication of his previous conduct.

CHAPTER XII.

THE COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY INTO THE ATTEMPTED ESCAPE OF THE KING.—ITS REPORT.—THE JACOBIN CLUB.—THE CLUB OF THE CORDELIERS.—ITS PROCEEDINGS.—MEASURES OF THE CONSTITUTIONALISTS.—ACCEPTANCE BY THE KING OF THE REVISED CONSTITUTION. — THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY DISSOLVED. — OPINION OF THE DUKE OF ORLEANS, BY SAVARY, DUKE OF ROVIGO.—THE ORLEANS PAPERS.—COMMENTS ON THEM BY NAPOLEON. — DEFENCE OF THE DUKE OF ORLEANS BY VOIDET. — DE CALONNE.—THE EMIGRANTS. — A TUMULTUOUS MOB AT THE TUILLERIES. — COALITION AGAINST THE REPUBLIC. — LOUIS XVI. TAKES REFUGE IN THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY. — INTERVIEWS OF THE DUKE OF ORLEANS WITH BERTRAND DE MOLEVILLE.—RESULTS TO THE DUKE. — HIS DESIRE FOR MILITARY OR NAVAL EMPLOYMENT. — HIS DOMESTIC AFFAIRS. — MEDIATION OF THE PRINCESS DE LAMBALLE. — HER IMPRISONMENT AND MURDER BY THE MOB.—GRIEF OF THE DUCHESS OF ORLEANS AND HER FATHER-IN-LAW.—POSITION OF THE DUKE OF ORLEANS AT THIS CRISIS.

THERE can be no doubt that a considerable party among the early promoters of the French Revolution desired to bring about a change of dynasty, by placing the Duke of Orleans at the head of a Constitutional Monarchy. After the flight to Varennes, this appears to have been the only chance for the preservation of the French kingdom. Louis XVI. had too obviously manifested his hostility to the Revolution to be again trusted, and the hollow truce hastily formed between him and the National Assembly could not possibly possess firmness or stability. The Duke of Orleans, by his speech in favour of the

King, and by his letter, protesting against a Regency, threw the moderate majority of the National Assembly into a state of extreme perplexity. On one side they were menaced with the restoration of all the dynastic abuses which they had so recently overthrown; on the other they were pressed by the revolutionary passions which demanded the dethronement of the King and the abolition of royalty.

A committee was appointed to investigate the circumstances attending the King's fruitless attempt to escape. It soon completed its labours, and shewed that the Marquis de Bouillé, "who commanded at Metz, had been the soul of the enterprise." A report on the subject was presented on the 13th of July; this document recommended that the inviolability of the royal person should be preserved, but that the Marquis and his associates should be placed on their trial before the national court of justice in Orleans. This was not very consistent with the previous decree of the Assembly, that the royal authority should be suspended until the constitution was completed. The more ardent patriots began to denounce the legislative body as opposed to progress, if not inclined to reaction; and as the Assembly sank in public estimation, the influence of tumultuary clubs—more especially those of the Jacobins and Cordeliers—began to appear like lowering clouds on the political horizon.

The first great political club was formed by the deputies from Brittany at Versailles. In a former chapter we have seen that the Bretons were fondly

attached to their distinct nationality, and could not reconcile themselves to being absorbed in the kingdom of France. Hence, their deputies to the National Assembly formed a club for discussing the special interests of their province, as it has been sometimes proposed that the representatives of Ireland should do when Irish measures are submitted to the Imperial Parliament. By degrees, members from the other provinces joined the Breton club, and enlarged the sphere of its operations, by introducing preliminary discussions on all matters likely to engage the attention of the National Assembly. When the legislative body was removed from Versailles to Paris, its members, assuming the name of "Friends of the Constitution," established themselves in the library of the Convent of the Jacobins, in the *Rue St. Honoré.* Once settled in Paris, the club became greatly enlarged, and was no longer confined to the representatives of the people. It found numerous affiliated societies in the departments which kept alive the revolutionary movement by their correspondence and suggestions. It had all the apparatus of a legislative assembly, even to the publication of an official journal with a record of its proceedings: its meetings were open to the public, and were held in the evening to suit general convenience; and every great political question of the day underwent a preliminary discussion in this formidable club.

Nothing can be more dangerous to the security of a State, and indeed to the safety of society itself

than this species of volunteer and subsidiary legislation. It soon becomes like one of those parasitical plants which overshadow and finally destroy the tree to which they first cling for support. Originally composed of the staunch friends of Constitutional Monarchy, the Jacobin club was led only by degrees, and almost imperceptibly, to erect itself into a Council of State, which usurped the functions of the government, and maintained its usurpation by establishing a reign of terror. But in July 1791, the Jacobin club included among its members some of the best men in France, — such as Montmorenci, Montesquiou, Biron, D'Aumont, Noailles, D'Aiguillon, Broglie, Menou, Crillon, Lameth, &c.; and such was its composition when it was joined by the Duke of Orleans. A few days after his admission, Real proposed that the Prince "should be invited to accept the guardianship of the monarchy, actually vacant by the decree of suspension pronounced against Louis XVI." To this proposition the Duke replied by referring to the sentiments expressed in his previously published letter, which we have quoted in the preceding chapter, and in consequence of his reluctance the matter was allowed to fall to the ground.

The club of the Cordeliers, which counted among its members Danton, Legendre, Fréron, Chaumette, Hebert, and some other ardent patriots, was a far more violent body than the Jacobin Club; but almost all of them belonged to it, and by repairing thither in a body were frequently enabled to overawe and

control the moderate Jacobins. They finally became disgusted, and joined the Club of the Feuillans, which never acquired any influence or popularity.

On the 15th of July the Cordeliers extorted from the Jacobins a vote for a petition to the Assembly, praying it to declare "that the King should be deposed as a perfidious traitor to his oaths, and that measures should be adopted for supplying his place by constitutional means." A petition to this effect was adopted and sent on the next day, to be placed on "the altar of the country" in the Champ de Mars, where it soon received some thousands of signatures. But the Cordeliers suddenly discovered that the demand for "supplying the King's place by constitutional means" pointed to an Orleans Regency; they therefore withdrew the petition, and prepared another more in conformity with their own republican notions. During the delay, however, the National Assembly had proclaimed the inviolability of the Monarch, and the petition consequently came too late. Its authors, nevertheless, persevered; and on Sunday, the 17th, the new petition was displayed for signature on the altar in the Champ de Mars. An immense concourse assembled, and no attempt was made to interrupt the proceedings until a little before noon, when information was received that two Invalids had been murdered by the mob, having been discovered concealed under the altar of the country. The Assembly sent for the municipality, and charged it to maintain public order. Bailly, the Mayor of Paris, immediately proceeded to

the Champ de Mars, accompanied by Lafayette and several battalions of the National Guard. A red flag was displayed to shew that martial law had been proclaimed, and the masses were commanded to disperse in the name of the law. The mob answered the summons by a shower of stones and some pistol-shots, one of which struck down a dragoon by Bailly's side. The troops were immediately ordered to fire, and the discharge produced frightful havoc among the dense masses. Order was finally restored, but the most deadly resentment thenceforth divided the Constitutionalists from the ardent Republicans.

The Constitutionalists improved this occasion to restore some part of its ancient strength to the monarchy. Among other changes introduced in the revision of the Constitution, it was proposed "that French Princes of the Royal Family should be incapable of exercising active rights as citizens." This clause, which was directly aimed at the Duke of Orleans, was vehemently opposed by that Prince. At the close of a long speech he said, "Gentlemen, I cannot believe that your committees intend to deprive any relation of the King of the power of making his election between the quality of a French citizen and the expectancy of the throne, whether immediate or remote. I propose, in the first place, that you should purely and simply reject the clause recommended by your committees; but in the event of your adopting it, I declare that I will lay upon your table my formal renunciation of all my rights.

as a member of the reigning dynasty, and reserve to myself only those of a French citizen.

This speech was received with loud acclamations, several times repeated; but it failed to produce the whole effect that was desired. The Assembly declared that Princes of the Blood should be incapable of election as representatives of the people; upon which the Duke of Orleans prepared and laid before the Assembly a formal renunciation of all the privileges connected with his birth and rank. Assuredly no such step would ever have been taken by a Prince ambitious of a throne.

The revised constitution was completed and presented to the King on the 8th of September. It was accepted on the 13th, when Louis XVI. was restored to the full exercise of his Royal rights. On the 30th of the same month the Assembly declared that its labours were at an end; but previously to its dissolution voted that none of its members should be eligible to the next National Assembly. This "Self-denying Ordinance" produced the worst effects. The new Assembly was thus deprived of men whose enthusiasm was somewhat abated by their experience of the difficulties and dangers of innovation, and whose legislative powers had been matured by practice. They were succeeded by young men who seemed eager to prove the truth of Cromwell's aphorism, "That men are never led so far by revolution as when they are ignorant of the point to which they are tending."

If there had ever been a defined Orleanist party, it was broken up by the dissolution of the first National Assembly. The relations between the Duke and his adherents seem to have been most vague and indeterminate: the only authentic account of them, or rather the only account possessing pretensions to authority, is found in the Memoirs of Savary, Duke of Rovigo, from which we shall make a most important and interesting extract.

"From my youth upwards," says this chief of the Imperial Police, "I had entertained a strong prejudice against the Duke of Orleans; it was the result of the opinions which prevailed at the time of my entering on service, and it had been fortified by all I subsequently heard when our saloons began to be filled by fragments of the wreck of all parties.

"I spent more than a month in reading by myself all those voluminous bundles of papers of the Duke of Orleans, which were still in the same state as when they had been seized and brought to the ministry, and though often much embarrassed, I finally attained my object.

"I found my own private opinion considerably changed by the perusal of these papers. Some of these were from individuals whom I had known to be among the most violent declaimers against the Duke of Orleans, and I had proofs before my eyes that they had been under the deepest obligations to him. I even found receipts for money, and in almost all of them

expressions of gratitude of such a nature as to leave no doubt about their motive.

"I selected such of these papers as related to men whom I saw very assiduous at the Tuilleries, and to others who sought to acquire credit at the Imperial Court.

"One day I carried the whole of these to the Emperor Napoleon, at Rambouillet; there he had ordinarily but few visitors, and we had more time for conversation. As I was incapable of deception, I told him, that, overcome by my fears of being detected in error, and by all that I had heard during my life against the Duke of Orleans, I had distrusted the future and myself, and had searched out among the archives of the House of Orleans, which were in my department, the papers I had brought him; adding, that they contained much curious matter. The Emperor took them and said to me,—'I already was aware that the archives of that family remained in your office; but I was told that nothing had been found in them; this would prove either that no attention was paid to them, or that they were deemed of little importance.'

"He led me into the avenue, which was used as a promenade, under the windows of the castle, near the large pond.

"He read the whole from beginning to end, which occupied a considerable time; then he took several turns up and down in silence, and at length said,—'You see that we should never judge by appearances,—you were prejudiced against this prince; and if you

had found an opportunity to injure any one of his creatures, you would have listened to the resentment which had been excited in you, probably by the very persons he had obliged. You have therefore done well in undertaking these researches: this is always the right way to act. *It is clearly proved to me that the Duke of Orleans was not a wicked man.* If he possessed the vices with which his memory has been calumniated, nothing could have hindered him from executing the project attributed to him; but he was only the lever employed by the political engineers of the day, who compromised him with themselves in order to find pretexts for extorting his money; and it appears that when they had once commenced, their demands knew no bounds.

"We must not be surprised that all who were his debtors had combined to evade payment, and had plotted his ruin by exciting public indignation against him. The exact truth is, that the Duke of Orleans was placed in extraordinary circumstances, which he could not foresee when he entered into the Revolution, which proves that he entered upon it honestly, like France itself. What could he have done? The exasperation of parties at the period had closed foreign countries against him. I do not approve every thing he did; but I pity him, and I would not be a guarantee for any one whom chance had placed in a similar situation. It is a great lesson which history will learn.

"I have no interest in attending to the matter. I am persuaded that an Orleans party existed at the

time of our discords; I even believe that it would be reanimated if the throne became vacant; but during my life it will merely be a chimera which will make no proselytes. Each may have all he hoped for and more; is it not as possible to hope it from me as from the Duke of Orleans? You see how many persons would be endangered if I adopted the suspicions those papers are calculated to suggest. Burn the entire mass and leave those whom they compromise in repose—let them never learn that I have read these documents: I know the embarrassment it would cause them, and there are some of them whom I highly esteem. They believed that the Orleans party was the best at the time; and it is very probable that they were right."

Napoleon's injunctions were only too well obeyed. There are no traces of this curious correspondence to be found. Bourrienne informs us, that among the notes on the character of candidates for office with which Napoleon was supplied by his brother Lucien, there was the following relating to the Orleanist party, which appears to us a document of considerable interest and importance.

"In choosing among the men who were members of the Constituent Assembly, it is necessary to be on our guard against the Orleans party, which is not altogether a chimera, and may prove one day or the other dangerous.

"There is no doubt that the partisans of that family are intriguing secretly; and among many other proofs

of the fact, the following is a striking one: The Journal called the 'Aristarque,' which undisguisedly supports royalism, is conducted by a man of the name of Voidet, one of the hottest patriots of the Revolution. He was for several months president of the Committee of Inquiry which caused the Marquis de Ferras to be arrested and hanged, and gave so much uneasiness to the Court. There was no one in the Constituent Assembly more hateful to the Court than Voidet, as much on account of his violence as from his connection with the Duke of Orleans, whose advocate he was.

"When the Duke of Orleans was arrested, Voidet, braving the fury of the revolutionary tribunals, had the courage to defend him, and placarded all the streets of Paris with an apology for the Duke and his two sons. This man, now writing in favour of royalism, can have no other object than that of advancing a member of the Orleans family to the throne."

From all the circumstances of the case it appears very probable that a large party in the National Assembly believed that Monarchy and the Revolution could be conciliated only by the substitution of the younger for the elder branch of the House of Bourbon. It was a very plausible theory, supported by the analogous case of the Prince of Orange and the English Revolution. There is, however, no proof that any active steps were taken, or any organised plans formed for bringing about such a result; and there is evidence that the Duke himself shewed no eager desire to exchange his princely station for an insecure throne.

Still he suffered severely from the suspicion: it exposed him to the rancorous hostility of the Royalists, and to the more deadly enmity of Robespierre and his associates. It was this suspicion which brought him to the scaffold, and which dictated the frightful calumnies that have pursued him beyond the grave.

The great danger to the throne of France arose from those who professed themselves the warmest partisans of monarchy—the nobles and landholders who had emigrated to Coblentz. They prepared for civil war with as much levity and recklessness as if they were getting up a hunting party or private theatricals. The following circular, which they issued, may be regarded as the only precedent in history for Mr. Smith O'Brien's ludicrous and yet lamentable parody of civil war in Ireland.

"Sir,—You are requested, on the part of their Royal Highnesses, to present yourself immediately at Coblentz, in default of which you will be deprived of the rights and privileges which the nobles of France are about to re-conquer under the banner of honour.

(Signed) "De Calonne."

Coblentz, Sept. 1, 1791.

De Calonne was the chief adviser of the Princes, and the great instigator of the fatal plan of emigration. But the young nobles of France shared his wild enthusiasm. Distaffs, as in the time of the crusades, were sent to those who were tardy in joining the aristocratic gathering; landlords abandoned their estates, nobles

left their castles; officers deserted their regiments. But the anti-republican party had abundance of commanders, with hardly any private soldiers; and for the recruiting of these they depended on the exertions of the nonjuring priests who had refused to take an oath of allegiance to the constitution. No government could endure such an open defiance of its authority. On the 9th of November the National Assembly passed a decree, commanding the emigrants to disperse, under pain of having their properties sequestrated; and by a subsequent law the penalty was raised to absolute confiscation. A stringent law was passed enjoining the priests to take the constitutional oath; but Louis XVI. refused to consent to the adoption of any severe measures against the priests or the Princes; in fact he was in secret correspondence with both. Marie Antoinette was still more hostile to the constitution, and more imprudent in the expression of her opinions: both she and the King believed that war would break down the Revolution, and that the consequences of the first battle would be the restoration of the ancient monarchy. War was proclaimed against Austria on the 20th of April, 1792, the King himself proposing it to the Assembly; but already whispers went round that war was sought to ensure defeat.

The Ducs de Chartres and Montpensier, the eldest sons of the Duke of Orleans, immediately joined the division of the national army, commanded by their father's friend, the Duc de Biron, and the Duke himself was present at the attack on Courtray. At this period the

suspicions which had been formed against the Orleans party had almost died away; an attempt indeed was made to revive them by Ribes, but it was so generally reprobated on all sides that it was not repeated.

On the 20th of June, 1792, a tumultuous mob proceeded to the Tuilleries for the purpose of petitioning the King to withdraw his *veto* on the laws against the emigrant Princes and nonjuring priests; and also to ask for the restoration of Roland's ministry, which had recently been dismissed. Although no injury was offered to the Royal Family, it cannot be doubted that the intimidating attitude of a tumultuous mob was an unconstitutional outrage on the authority of the monarch. It was condemned as such by Lafayette, who vainly demanded that the petitioners should be censured if not punished by the National Assembly. The Duke of Orleans was at this time serving with the army of the North; he could therefore have no connection with the menacing demonstration which is generally allowed to have been accidental and unpremeditated. Its real instigator was Petion, who had been elected mayor of Paris in preference to Lafayette, chiefly through the influence of the Court.

The Memoirs of Bertrand de Molleville have established, beyond all question, that Louis XVI. had a secret and active correspondence with the emigrants, and the allied Sovereigns who had formed a coalition against the French Republic. He sought from the latter a joint manifesto, which he hoped would overawe his subjects; and so sanguine was Marie Antoi-

nette on this point, that she spoke publicly in the Tuilleries of the near approach of the day of her deliverance. It was but natural that imprisoned Royalty should desire a release from captivity; we cannot blame either the King or the Queen for seeking any means of escape from the thraldom in which they were held by the brutal mob of Paris: but the same allowance must be made for the supporters of the Constitution which the King had accepted, and against which he was intriguing. There was a long interval, during which a reconciliation between the King and the Constitution might have been beneficially accomplished, if there had been a sincere desire for it by either party; but, in truth, neither would have been satisfied with such a result. The Court had resolved to go back to the ancient monarchy, and the Revolutionists were prepared to go forward to a Republic. Both these parties thoroughly hated and feared the Duke of Orleans, for both believed that the most practicable solution of the difficulties gathering round the State would have been to place him at the head of a constitutional monarchy, either as King or Regent; but when he had declared his resolution never to occupy such a post, and had withdrawn from the sphere of action, there was no longer any possibility of a middle course. France had to choose between the ancient monarchy and the new republic; for to a constitutional monarchy, such as had been framed by the National Assembly, Louis XVI. was as hostile as any of the emigrant Princes.

The manifesto of the Duke of Brunswick, published July 25th, 1792, brought matters to a crisis. His threats to shoot the National Guards, to burn their houses, and to deliver up Paris itself to military execution unless the King were immediately restored to perfect freedom and independence, compelled the French people to make an immediate choice between Royalty and the Revolution. No one could doubt that the first act of Louis XVI., when restored to the required freedom and independence, would be to annul all the acts of the National Assembly, for he had himself avowed this intention in the Declaration he left behind at the time of the flight to Varennes. A majority of the Parisian sections petitioned the Assembly to suspend or abolish the Royal functions; and when the consideration of the question was adjourned, on the motion of Condorcet, the general irritation was so great that every one foresaw it must end in insurrection.

On the 10th of August, the King and Queen, aware that the last great struggle was approaching, reviewed the troops in the *Place de Carrousel*, and were received with stern and mournful silence even by the Swiss Guards. All appeals to loyalty and courage were unavailing; and, in the midst of these fruitless efforts, intelligence was received that the populace was approaching from the Faubourgs St. Antoine and St. Marceau, and that the National Guards, instead of opposing their progress, had joined their ranks. In spite of the firm opposition of the Queen, Louis XVI.

went with the Royal Family to claim the protection of the National Assembly. He had not long entered this asylum, when the insurgent mob reached the palace, which the guards had resolved not to defend. Some inexplicable accident led to a collision between the guards and some of the mob: popular passion was at its height. The troops, assailed by those with whom they were prepared to fraternise, were obliged to fire in self-defence; they were overpowered and massacred, the Tuilleries was plundered, and it was not without difficulty that the palace was saved from conflagration.

While the fight was raging, and the bullets flying around, the Assembly decreed—1st, the immediate suspension of the Constitutional powers of the King; 2ndly, the nomination of a Provisional Executive; 3rdly, the immediate execution of the decrees to which the Royal assent had been refused; and 4thly, the speedy convocation of a National Convention, elected by all classes of citizens, charged to decide finally on the destinies of the country.

So far was the Duke of Orleans from taking any part in these transactions, that he was at the time serving with the army as a volunteer, having been disappointed of naval employment, though promoted to the rank of admiral. We shall quote the account given by the Minister of Marine, Bertrand de Moleville, of the interview which the Prince had with him on learning the news of his appointment.

"After having conversed with me on different sub-

jects, the Duke of Orleans assured me that he attached the greatest value to the favour the King shewed him, because it would afford him an opportunity of convincing his Majesty how grossly his sentiments had been calumniated. He addressed this declaration to me with a tone of frankness and sincerity, and accompanied it with the warmest protestations of loyalty. 'I am very unfortunate,' said he, 'without having deserved it. A thousand atrocities have been laid to my charge, of which I am absolutely innocent: there are those who believe me culpable, simply because I have disdained to lower myself by defending myself against imputations of crimes which I regard with the deepest horror. You are the first minister to whom I have said so much, because you are the only one whose character has always inspired me with confidence: you will soon have a favourable opportunity for judging whether my actions contradict my language.'

"He pronounced these last words with the accent of a man who believed them a necessary reply to the air of incredulity with which I listened. I replied to him, "I am so much afraid of weakening the force of your expressions, when reporting them to the King, as you desire, that I invite you to express your sentiments to his Majesty in person.'

"'That is precisely what I desire,' he replied; 'and if I could flatter myself that the King would receive me, I would present myself at Court to-morrow.'

"The same evening, at the Council, I gave the King an account of the visit which the Duke of Orleans had

paid me, and of everything which had passed between us. I added that it was impossible to resist a conviction of the sincerity of his protestations. The King resolved to receive him, and the next day he had a conversation with him for more than half an hour, with which he seemed to me very well satisfied. 'I am of your opinion,' said the King to me; 'he is coming back to us honestly and sincerely, and he will do everything in his power to repair the evil perpetrated in his name, and in which it is very possible that he had not so large a share as we have hitherto believed.'

"On the following Sunday, the Duke of Orleans came to the King's levée. The courtiers, not knowing what had passed, and the Royalists who came on that day to pay their respects to the Royal Family, gave him the most mortifying reception. They pressed round him, affecting to tread on his feet and to push him towards the door. When he came into the Queen's apartment, the table was already laid: when they perceived it they cried out, '*Let no one approach the dishes!*' thereby insinuating that he might throw poison on them.

"The insulting murmurs excited by his presence forced him to retire without seeing any one of the Royal Family. I was at Court this day (January 1, 1792), and was an eye-witness of the scene I have just described."

No wonder it has been said that the worst foes of Louis XVI. were his injudicious friends. Such

treatment of the first Prince of the Blood could not but inspire a bitter resentment, which must be certain to bear fatal fruits.

We shall now proceed to illustrate from the Orleans correspondence the earnest anxiety of the Duke to be employed in the public service. The letters were found by M. Tournois in the archives of the Ministry of the Marine, where they are still carefully preserved. The first, addressed to the head of that department, is as follows :—

"Paris, January 21st, 1792.

"Sir,—I have received this morning the letter you addressed to me on the 18th of this month, in which you inform me that the King, when arranging on the 16th of September last the new formation of the Marine, according to the laws enacted for its organization, had promoted me on that same day to the rank of admiral. I accept it with gratitude. So soon as you have the kindness to send me the form of the authentic act, which you say is necessary to afford evidence of my acceptance, according to the time and manner which the National Assembly has reserved to itself, which you promise shall be notified to me, I will hasten to comply with the intentions of the King. I have the honour to be, Sir, your very humble and obedient servant.

(Signed) "L. P. Joseph."

We find no explanation of the delay of four months in communicating this appointment to the Prince.

The law regulating the marine, to which the letter refers, received the Royal assent on the 13th of March; and on the 15th, the Duke appeared at L'Orient in consequence of a decree of the Assembly, commanding a general review of the officers of marine. Thence he returned to Paris, and when war was declared on the 20th of April, he addressed the following letter to the Minister of Marine, soliciting to be employed in active service :—

"Paris, April 23rd, 1792.

"SIR,—The principal object of this letter is to request that you will have the goodness to propose me to the King for active employment in any naval armament which circumstances may render necessary. I claim with confidence your justice in this respect, and I venture to hope that the matter will engage your attention whenever an opportunity may offer.

"But in case the armaments which I expect should meet any delay, the zeal you know that I possess for the maintenance of the Constitution, as well as my desire to contribute everything in my power to the success of the greatest and most just of causes, not permitting me to remain in that inactivity which is painful to every good citizen, I entreat you to obtain for me leave of absence, the term of which will expire at any time you may please to give me an intimation to that effect. For this purpose I will take care to keep you accurately informed of the place to which you can address his Majesty's orders, and I hope that

you do not doubt my eagerness to obey them. You know, Sir, the sentiments of esteem and friendship which I entertain for you.

(Signed) "L. P. JOSEPH."

To this letter the following answer was sent by Lacoste, then recently appointed Minister of Marine :—

"Paris, April 24th, 1792.

"MY LORD, —I will lose no time in communicating to the King the new proofs you have given of your zeal for the service of the country, and I shall have the honour to communicate his Majesty's intentions to you. It, however, appears to me that the circumstances of the moment do not offer an opportunity of giving you an employment suitable to your rank."

Several other notes, which have not been preserved, were probably interchanged before that which we have next to insert. It shews that the anxiety of the Duke of Orleans to engage in active service had led him to join the army as a volunteer until an opportunity should offer for employing him at sea.

"Paris, May 23rd, 1792.

"SIR,—As you have communicated to me that I am at liberty to join the division of Marshal Biron, or to go anywhere else I please, provided you are kept informed of the place, so as to be able to transmit me your orders, if you had any to give, respecting the naval service, I beg to inform you that it is my intention to set out early to-morrow for Valenciennes.

You are aware of the sentiments of esteem and regard which I entertain for you.

(Signed) "L. P. JOSEPH."

The Duke went to Valenciennes with his son, the Count de Beaujolais, who was still a child, because his other sons, the Ducs de Chartres and Montpensier, were serving there under the command of General Biron. Honourable mention of his services was made in the Gazettes, but nothing could overcome the reluctance of the Court to employ him in an official capacity. On the 11th of July the National Assembly voted that the country was in danger, and ordered that all civil and military functionaries should repair to their respective posts. The Duke of Orleans naturally felt that the post of an admiral was on board a ship, and not at head-quarters in a camp. He therefore addressed the following letter to the Minister of Marine :—

"Valenciennes, July 14th.

"SIR,—In reply to my request for employment in my capacity of admiral, you wrote me word on the 27th of April last that the King had expressly charged you to inform me how deeply he was touched by this new proof of my zeal, but that he believed that there would be no opportunity of employing me in the superior rank I hold in the navy. You added, '*With respect to the leave of absence which you appear desirous to obtain, in case of your not being employed, the King does not believe any express permission*

necessary, since, according to law, general officers of the marine, not being bound to any determined residence, have the liberty of fixing their abode in any part of the kingdom which may suit them; it will therefore be sufficient, if it be your intention to quit Paris, that you should let me know where I may have the honour of transmitting to you the King's commands, if his Majesty should direct me to forward any.' This decision induced me to ask you for the passports which I deemed necessary for joining General Biron's division of the army of the North. In reply to this demand, you wrote to me on the 3rd of May last, that the King approved of my joining the army, and that if circumstances should induce him to issue any orders respecting me, you would take care that they should be forwarded. You added, '*With respect to the passports you desire, the King is of opinion that they would be useless to you; inasmuch as if the corps which you are about to join, and which is at this moment actually in France, should have to cross the frontiers, you, in accompanying it, can have personally no more need of passports than any of the other officers engaged.*'

"In consequence, I immediately joined the army of the North. M. Luckner, the commander-in-chief of that army, to whom I shewed your different letters, gave me permission to serve in that army, couched in the following terms:—

"'*M. d'Orleans having communicated to me the letters of the minister which authorise him on the part of*

the King to serve as a volunteer in the army of the North, I have great pleasure in consenting to an arrangement of such good example. Signed at Valenciennes, June 5th, 1792.

'LUCKNER,

'Commander-in-chief of the army of the North.'

"I have just read in the public papers that the National Assembly has voted the country to be in danger, and has ordered that all public functionaries, civil and military, should repair to their respective posts. My desire to obey their decrees as punctually as possible, induces me again to ask of you if you have fixed, on any posts for the general officers of marine, as I am most desirous to render myself useful to my country wherever I may be.

"Marshal de Luckner having just set out for Paris, I leave his army for the first time since I joined, and intend to pass a few days at Valenciennes. I have the honour to be, Sir, your obedient humble servant,

(Signed) "L. P. JOSEPH."

On the back of this letter there is the following memorandum in an unknown hand. *Answered by the minister himself on the* 18*th of July.* The precise nature of the answer is unknown. On the 18th of July the Duke of Orleans had quitted Valenciennes to return to Paris, which he reached on the 19th. He then addressed the following note to the president of the National Assembly.

"MR. PRESIDENT,—I have the honour to enclose you a copy of the letter which I wrote to the minister of marine, on learning the National Assembly's decree of the 11th of July, which declares that the country is in danger. I shall always desire with the same ardour and constancy to be engaged in the service of the constitution and of freedom. I have the honour, &c.

(Signed) "L. P. JOSEPH."

It appears from an endorsement on this note that it was referred to the consideration of the Committee on Naval Affairs, but no further notice was taken of it. The Duke wrote also to the Minister of Marine.

"Paris, July 19th, 1792.

"SIR,—I arrived in Paris this evening, and have to request that you will transmit me your reply to the letter I wrote to you from Valenciennes on the 14th of the present month. I have the honour, &c.

(Signed) "L. P. JOSEPH."

This is endorsed *"Answered on the 20th,"* but the answer has not been preserved. On the 21st of July the Girondin ministry was dissolved, and one more in the interests of the Court appointed. Dubonchage, a creature of the Queen, succeeded Lacoste as Minister of Marine, upon which the Duke, having no longer any hope from the ministry, made a final appeal to the National Assembly. Although the document repeats some matters quoted in former letters, it is too important not to be inserted entire.

"GENTLEMEN,—I believe that it is at once my interest and my duty to submit to the National Assembly some observations relative to my personal situation as a public functionary, in my quality of general-officer of marine.

"Immediately after the declaration of war, I requested of the Minister of Marine employment in my rank, and he replied to me in a letter dated the 27th of April, that '*his Majesty, observing that actual circumstances did not appear to require a large developement of naval forces, was of opinion that there would be no opportunity of employing me in a position suited to my naval rank.*'

"After this reply, desiring no longer to remain in painful inactivity, whilst all citizens were hastening to the defence of their country, I wrote back to the same minister, to obtain for me the Royal permission to join the army of the North. The minister, in fact, sent me this permission in a letter dated the 3rd of May, couched in the following terms :—

"'*I have submitted to his Majesty the last letter which you did me the honour to address me. His Majesty sees nothing but what is laudable and natural in the intention you have communicated to me of joining the division commanded by M. Biron, in which your sons are serving. He approves, therefore, of your design, and should circumstances require him to entrust me with any orders for transmission, I shall have the honour of forwarding them to you.*

"'*With respect to the passports you desire, the King*

is of opinion that they would be useless to you, inasmuch as the corps which you are about to join, and which is at this moment actually in France, should have to cross the frontiers, you, in accompanying it, can have personally no more need of passports than any of the other officers engaged. I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) LACOSTE.'

"When I communicated this letter to the Marshal de Luckner, he authorised me in fact to serve in his army by a written permission, of which I send a copy. Whilst I was with the army, the National Assembly declared the country to be in danger, and an act of the legislative body ordered all public functionaries to repair to their respective posts. I, in consequence, wrote again to the Minister of Marine to point out to me my post, that I might go to it. Under these circumstances, the army, by a change in its destination, having been marched for the interior of the kingdom, I profited by this interval to come to Paris, to press and wait for the answer which I had requested. Here is the reply I received :—

"'*I have just got the letter you did me the honour to write from Valenciennes, and having submitted it to the King, I hasten to reply, his Majesty regards it as a new proof of your zeal for the service of the state and of your anxiety to set an example of obedience to the laws.*

"'*The act of the legislative body which declares the*

country in danger, does not appear to his Majesty to impose any new obligations on you, for you are aware that the superior officers of the marine, not being bound to any residence, have no determined post except when engaged in actual service. I have the honour, &c.

Signed LACOSTE.'

"I prepared then to rejoin the army, when I received from my son Louis Philippe, a letter dated the 27th of July, stating '*Marshal Luckner desires me to inform you that the King has forbidden him to allow any volunteer to join his army who has not a written permission under the sign-manual. The marshal further desires me to testify his regrets, &c.*'

"The same information was communicated to me by Marshal Biron, who wrote—'*I am bound to let you know, without loss of time, that Marshal Luckner has forbidden me to receive you into the army of the Rhine, without the express and written permission of the King.*'

"This royal prohibition implies a revocation of the permission which had been given to me by the Minister of Marine in His Majesty's name. I respect it, and comply. But, deprived of the hope of joining in this way in the defence of my country, I desire that the rank which I hold in the navy may furnish me with some other means. It appears to me impossible that the intention of the National Assembly should be, that public functionaries should exist without functions and without posts. I request then that it may please

the Assembly to decree that the Minister of Marine should assign to all the officers of that body the posts to which they ought to repair, since the act of the legislative body requires that all functionaries should repair to their respective posts.

"I have, gentlemen, the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) "ADMIRAL L. P. JOSEPH."

"Paris, August 2, 1792.

These letters completely refute the common calumny that the Duke of Orleans designedly remained in Paris for the purpose of furthering his supposed designs against the monarchy. They shew that he was detained in the capital very much against his will, and that he was anxious to escape from politics, and seek employment either by land or sea. The Court could not have believed that he was really the secret author of the troubles of Paris, or they would eagerly have embraced the opportunity of employing him on some distant naval service. Two squadrons were fitted out in the summer of 1792 to cruise in the Mediterranean; the command of one was given to Truguet, and of the other to La Touche, who actually held a post in the household of the Duke of Orleans. They did not return to harbour until the end of 1793. Had the unfortunate Prince been entrusted with the command of either, he would have escaped the greatest calamity of his life, his participation in the proceedings of the National Convention.

There is no difficulty in explaining his exclusion

from the army. The emigrant officers at Coblentz, in addition to their other delusions, believed that their old regiments might be induced to come over to them in masses, and they feared lest this expected desertion might be prevented by the presence of a popular Prince like the Duke of Orleans. It is therefore highly probable that it was at their instigation that Louis XVI. withdrew the permission he had previously given to the Prince to serve as a volunteer.

Domestic affairs contributed to render the Duke of Orleans very anxious to exchange his painful inactivity at Paris for the excitement of public service. A separation had taken place between him and his Duchess; a law-suit had been commenced, to obtain the re-payment of her dowry; the fortune of the Duke, already shattered, was likely to be ruined by this demand; and he could not disguise from himself that all these difficulties and distresses were the result of his own misconduct.

The Duke and Duchess of Orleans had been married in 1769, and had lived very happily together until 1784, when the increasing ascendancy of Madame de Genlis over the Duke produced the first clouds of jealousy. An open explosion was prevented by the prompt interference of judicious friends; outward appearances at last were preserved, and they were accompanied by some manifestations of real affection. The Prince accompanied his invalid spouse to the waters of Spa; the Princess followed her husband to

his exile at Villars-Coterets. Although the infidelities of the Duke were numerous and notorious, they did not give the Duchess so much grief as her total exclusion from all share in the management and education of her children, who were confided to the exclusive care of Madame de Genlis, and the subjects on whom she practised her experiments of sentimental quackery. The extravagant vanity of Madame de Genlis induced her to assume insulting airs of triumph over the Duchess; and the Duke, duped by her pretensions of philosophic superiority, encouraged all her usurpations. The first open quarrel was the refusal of the Duchess to accompany the Prince when he was sent on a mission to England; but she was reconciled to him after his return, and supported him during his struggle against the calumnious accusations of the Châtelet.

The sentiments of the Duchess inclined to royalism; she therefore felt bitterly mortified at seeing her husband and children led every day further and further into the extravagances of the revolution by the pernicious influence of Madame de Genlis. Worn out at length, she quitted her husband's palace on the 5th of April, 1791, the twenty-second anniversary of her marriage, and sought shelter at the Château d'Eu, in Normandy, the residence of her father, the Duc de Penthièvre.

It was at first believed possible that arrangements could be effected for an amicable separation, and the Princess de Lamballe undertook the delicate charge

of mediation. The Duke offered to restore the dowry, provided the Duchess would settle an annuity of one hundred thousand livres on each of her children, perfectly independent of both their parents. As she would thus have left them under the influence and guardianship of Madame de Genlis, whom they had been trained to prefer to their mother, the Duchess rejected these terms; but she offered to undertake the entire charge of the support and education of Mademoiselle and the Count de Beaujolais, provided they were immediately confided to her care. Scarcely was the proposal made, when Mademoiselle d'Orleans was sent in all haste to England under the care of Madame de Genlis! It is no wonder that the Penthièvre family took fire at this insult: a public suit was instituted against the Duke on the 21st of October, 1791, and, according to the law then existing, it was ordered to be tried before a family tribunal,—that is, before noble relatives of both parties, forming a kind of court of arbitration.

It is not necessary to enter into the legal history of this deplorable affair, embarrassed by all the legal technicalities which the imperfect jurisprudence of France at that time allowed. Even the lamentable public events of the period did not interfere with the process; the suit was continued even when the husband and wife were imprisoned three hundred leagues asunder, and the decree of final separation was pronounced only a few weeks before the Duke's head fell upon the scaffold.

One of the worst results of this calamitous lawsuit was, the opportunity it afforded some unscrupulous calumniators of implicating the Duke of Orleans in the savage murder of his sister-in-law, the Princess de Lamballe. Peltier, with whom this infamous libel originated, states that the Duke of Orleans had a personal interest in the death of this unfortunate lady. Her dowry, he declares, would have reverted to the Duke of Orleans, and would have relieved him from pecuniary pressure. It is forgotten that the dowry was of very small amount, and that the reversion belonged to the Duc de Penthièvre, then at open war with the malignant Prince, and after him to the Duchess of Orleans, who was on the point of obtaining a separation from her husband. So far from having an interest in the death of the Princess, the Duke of Orleans was sure to be seriously injured by such an event, for she was the only person who could mediate effectively between him and his father-in-law.

After the suspension of royalty on the 10th of August, there remained but two authorities in Paris,—that of the Municipality or Commune, and that of the Legislative Assembly. The Commune having undertaken the charge of the Royal person, transferred Louis XVI. and his family to the Luxembourg, and afterwards to the Temple, as a place of greater security. The Princess de Lamballe, superintendent of the Queen's household, refused to be separated from her royal mistress; she and Mesdames de Tourzel and de Saint Brice were permitted to remain with

Marie Antoinette. On the 19th of August these three ladies were arrested on a charge of secretly corresponding with foreigners; they were removed to the prison of La Force. An inquiry being instituted, the charge proved to be groundless, and they were to be liberated at ten o'clock on the night of the 1st of September. Mesdames de Tourzel and de Saint Brice quitted the prison, but the Princess de Lamballe was remanded *at her own request* until the next day, in order that the Commissioners should decide on the propriety of her resuming her functions at the Temple.

On the night of the 1st of September disastrous intelligence arrived from the army. Longwy had been taken; Verdun was invested, and was said, though falsely, to have surrendered; and it was believed that the allied armies were in full march upon Paris. In this emergency the National Assembly decreed that all the carriage-horses of the city should be placed at the disposal of the military, and that one-half of the National Guard should march to support the troops of the line. The Commune ordered the tocsin to be sounded, the alarm-guns to be fired, and all the citizens to be summoned to assemble in the Champ de Mars, to march, if necessary, against the invaders of the country. Such was the state of Paris on the morning of Sunday, the 2nd of September. Towards noon, bands and battalions of all classes began to assemble in the Champ de Mars, exhibiting all the signs of that rage and terror which are the sure heralds of popular outrage. All kinds

of alarming rumours were circulated. It was said that the Duke of Brunswick was resolved to lay Paris in ashes, and exterminate its citizens; others pretended that the Royalists of the capital had resolved to assail the patriots in their rear so soon as the battle joined: gaolers declared that they had heard suspicious menaces of vengeance from their prisoners; and a kind of tacit feeling spread abroad that there was as much danger of treachery from within, as of the advancing allies from without. While these rumours spread through the mob, and suggested the expediency of guarding in some way against internal treason, a voice suddenly raised the cry,—"To the prisons!" It was taken up with frantic enthusiasm; excited multitudes rushed to the crowded prisons; the work of massacre commenced, and among the victims was the Princess de Lamballe, who would have been liberated on the preceding evening but for her generous determination to rejoin her Royal mistress.

It is unnecessary to dwell on the horrors of this dreadful day, but it is sheer absurdity to ascribe them to the bribes of the Duke of Orleans: he was not in concert with the allies, whose success had caused the gathering in the Champ de Mars. He had no reason to wish for the death of any of the prisoners; and he could not possibly have suspected that the Princess de Lamballe had gone back to prison after obtaining her release on the preceding night, even if he had sought her destruction.

M. Fortaire has given us a most interesting and

graphic account of the effect of the murder of the Princess de Lamballe on her sister-in-law, the Duchess of Orleans, who was then on a visit to her father, the Duc de Penthièvre, at Bizy. "I learned this frightful intelligence," says Fortaire, who was in the service of the Duc de Penthièvre, "on the evening of the 3rd of September, just as M. de Penthièvre was retiring to bed. Luckily few persons knew it; the Prince and his daughter were still ignorant of it. As M. de Penthièvre retired to bed, I looked at him with a lacerated heart; but it was necessary to restrain myself. The Prince had no notion of what had occurred, but his fears were incessant. For several days he had occupied himself with plans for removing his unfortunate daughter-in-law from that infernal den, the horrible prison of La Force. He went to bed at his usual hour, and desired to be called at nine o'clock.

"Letters were received every day at Vernon, between six and seven in the morning. The couriers who passed through at night did not fail to announce any extraordinary events of the evening before: so that early in the morning every body was acquainted with the murder of the Princess de Lamballe and its deplorable circumstances. All the companions and servants of the Duc de Penthièvre and the Duchess of Orleans were up and dressed at an early hour. They talked over the matter, went from one room to another to concert some plan of breaking the intelligence; but were all quite overwhelmed. Still it was necessary to determine upon the conduct to be pur-

sued under such sad circumstances. The Duchess of Orleans was accustomed to rise at an early hour, and was always in a hurry to receive her letters: all of us resolved to go into her apartment when she asked for them. We waited with impatience the fearful moment which it was impossible to avoid. M. de Méromenil, a venerable man, agreed to act as guide and counsel to us, and to take upon himself the principal function under such painful circumstances. Nothing less than the wisdom and prudence of an ancient chief of the magistracy was required after such an occurrence, to find the means of averting the dangerous consequences of the first movement. At the instant the Duchess of Orleans asked for her letters, M. de Méromenil held them in his hands; and, followed by us all, entered the Princess's apartment, who had already noticed a certain air of embarrassment on the countenances of her female attendants. This species of ceremonial seemed to her of evil omen. A deep silence said more than the most studied discourse; every one was anxious to delay the moment when the dreadful event should be communicated to this sensitive Princess. It was necessary, however, to come to it at last; but still, by broken questions, laconic answers, such replies as—'*Yes, Madam,*'—'*No, Madam,*'—using petty stratagems to avoid and yet to approach the fatal subject, to weaken the blow and ward off its dreadful effects. At length the terrible word *death* was pronounced, without directly mentioning who was dead, but leaving it to be inferred. Then all the means

employed with such art and precaution could not prevent a most sad and heart-rending scene.

"That beautiful figure, that celestial countenance, that form so noble, so beautifully proportioned, and so elegant, seemed as if it were about to be rent asunder on the instant; spasms, shivering fits, and convulsions overwhelmed the unhappy Princess. Insensibly we began to address her with the thoughts and words suitable to such a moment,—and of what was not she capable, who, shortly after was about to offer herself as the defender of the accused and captive monarch? The time became very short when it would be necessary to communicate the event to her father, which obviously required the greatest precautions. We represented to the Duchess of Orleans the interest every body took in the preservation of her august father, to which she ought to contribute more than anybody else. We represented to her that a prince of such sensitive feelings could not survive the loss of two children at a time, both the objects of his most tender affections. 'You love your incomparable father,' said our wise old friend, 'so much that you would give your life for his safety; all the world knows the heroism of your sentiments in this respect. Amongst the multitudinous virtues with which Heaven has endowed you, your filial piety is one of the most elevated, and it is this which claims at the present moment all the faculties of your soul, to prevent those fatal effects which we have too much reason to dread. Let your tears flow freely, Madame,—that is just; but

we only require that they should be repressed for a moment to resume their course afterwards.' Great strength of mind undoubtedly is required to command one's sorrow in a similar situation. Still it was absolutely necessary that the Duchess of Orleans, who had to arrange the manner in which the Duc de Penthièvre should be informed of the event, should herself be aware of what was to be communicated, and that she herself must be the organ of communication.

"All the friends of the family, and all the household, entered softly and together the bedchamber of the Duc de Penthièvre, and ranged themselves around the room before the curtains were drawn from the windows. The Duchess of Orleans placed herself in an arm-chair, near the door, fronting the bed of her father, who would necessarily see her the moment he opened his eyes; the rest placed themselves in a kind of circle round the room.

"These arrangements had been made for some time before the Duc de Penthièvre gave any sign of awaking. At last he opened his eyes, looked round, and saw his daughter, whose face was hidden in her hands, and his room crowded with a circle of silent persons and anxious faces. He glanced round, fixing his eyes on each individually, and reading in the aspect of every figure that some deplorable event had occurred; which indeed this good Prince had but too strongly expected for several days past. Two persons approached the bed in silence; he looked at them, and, without uttering a word, turned away, thrust his

arms out of the bed, clasped his hands, fixed his eyes on heaven as if his soul were ascending thither, and maintained a profound silence, which seemed to impose the same duty on everybody else. At last this dear Prince broke the silence, and in the most touching tone, with arms lifted and hands clasped, uttered these few words: *'My God! you know it! there is nothing with which I have to reproach myself.'*

"At this instant the whole room resounded with sobs, and torrents of tears fell from every eye. The Duchess of Orleans sprang towards her father, seized his arms, bedewed them with her tears, while the aged Duke received almost unconsciously the marks of her filial tenderness. Her attendants soon found it necessary to take her in their arms and bear her to her own apartments. The Duke anxious to know all the details of the massacre, demanded that the newspapers, hitherto concealed from him, should be brought, and said to us all with his usual kindness, 'I should have believed that the people, who have always shewn me favour, would have had some tenderness for my daughter-in-law. Let us, however, respect and adore the dispensations of the Deity.' He then rose, exhibiting something almost supernatural in the expression of his countenance, and gave his entire attention to his devotions, which lasted for a long time.

"When the time for mass came, the chapel was hung with black, and the service for the dead was performed. From that day the Prince never enjoyed one hour of sound health."

The grief of the Duchess of Orleans for her beautiful and beloved sister-in-law is noticed in all the memoirs of the time. She has herself recorded that the death of the Princess produced an injurious effect on the fortunes of her husband; and that he sincerely deplored, not merely the loss to himself, but the disgrace brought upon the cause he had espoused. If he ever had any ambitious hopes,—and the weight of evidence is that he was too weak to be ambitious,—the events of the 2nd of September must have crushed them. From the date of these terrific murders, every man saw that anarchy must for a time be predominant in France, and that a Reign of Order could only be reached through the sanguinary apprenticeship of a Reign of Terror.

The position of the Duke of Orleans at this moment was the most miserable that could well be imagined. He was on the point of being proclaimed a bankrupt in fortune; his domestic peace was irretrievably ruined; the Royalists and the Republicans equally detested him as the great chance for a constitutional monarchy, which they equally detested; excluded from public service; unable to find any refuge abroad or safety at home, he had nothing to which he could turn for support but his frail and flickering popularity with the populace of Paris. On this he hazarded his last cast, and in a very brief space lost fortune, fame, and life.

CHAPTER XIII.

DECREE AGAINST EMIGRANTS. — THE DUKE OF ORLEANS FIRST NAMED ÉGALITÉ.—HIS ELECTION TO THE NATIONAL CONVENTION.—COMPOSITION OF THAT ASSEMBLY. — THE REPUBLICAN ARMIES AND THE ALLIES. — OVERTURE OF THE KING OF PRUSSIA TO THE DUKE OF ORLEANS.—THE DUCS DE CHARTRES AND MONTPENSIER.—APPEAL OF THE DUKE OF ORLEANS TO THE CONVENTION IN BEHALF OF HIS DAUGHTER. — ITS RESULT. — EDICT AGAINST THE FAMILY OF ORLEANS. — SPEECH OF ROBESPIERRE, AND OF MARAT.—TRIAL AND EXECUTION OF LOUIS XVI.— ATROCIOUS VOTE OF THE DUKE OF ORLEANS.— MILITARY PROCEEDINGS OF DUMOURIEZ.—HIS PROBABLE POLITICAL INTENTIONS.—HIS FLIGHT.— DEMONSTRATION IN THE CONVENTION AGAINST THE ORLEANS FAMILY.— THE GIRONDINS AND JACOBINS.—PHILIPPE ÉGALITÉ AND HIS FAMILY ARRESTED. — MARSHAL BIRON. — HIS EXECUTION. — ACCOUNT BY THE DUC DE MONTPENSIER OF HIS ARREST, AND OF HIS IMPRISONMENT WITH HIS FATHER. — CONFIDENCE OF PHILIPPE ÉGALITÉ. — NARRATIVE OF GAMACHE.—MOCK TRIAL OF PHILIPPE ÉGALITÉ.—HIS CONDUCT ON THE SCAFFOLD.—HIS EXECUTION.

A DECREE against all emigrants was hurriedly adopted by the Executive Council. The Duke of Orleans hastened to prevent the insertion of his daughter's name in the fatal list. He proceeded to the Hôtel de Ville, and explained to the Municipal Council that he had sent his daughter to England in the October of the preceding year, under the care of Madame de Genlis, for the benefit of her health and the improvement of her education ; and that as there was nothing political connected with the journey, he demanded that she should not be reckoned as one of the emigrants against

whom this new law was directed. The *Procureur-syndic* of the municipality, who exercised a sort of public ministry in all administrative affairs, admitted the substance of the Duke's demand, but objected to the form. Manuel, who then held the office, was a rigid Republican, and a most pedantic formalist. He was the author of a letter addressed to Louis XVI. in 1791, which began with these words : "Sire, I do not love kings, and the Bourbons least of all." He acted on the sentiment; and when the Duke signed the formal requisition, he declared that the Municipality could not recognise a petition signed by a Bourbon; that the nation acknowledged no Bourbons since the 10th of August, and that, before the petitioner could be heard, he was bound to conform to the national will by abandoning the proscribed name. Then turning theatrically to the statues of Liberty and Equality, he proposed that the Prince should take one of those as his sponsor at a revolutionary baptism. Anxious for the safety of his child, the Duke of Orleans submitted to this absurd degradation, and thus acquired the name of Philip Egalité.

So many atrocious calumnies have been circulated respecting this incident, that we shall give the narrative of an eye-witness, M. Sergent, who then held an office in the municipal police. "I was present," he says, "and saw the Duke of Orleans shrug his shoulders when he received the name of Egalité, which was given him by Manuel, the *Procureur-syndic*. He spoke of it to me contemptuously, when, as we went out together from the Hôtel de Ville, I said to him with a smile,

Louis Joseph Philippe

DUKE OF ORLEANS.

[EGALITE.]

Fisher, Fisher, & Richard Scott, 1849

admirably that baptism suits you! The name of a nymph given to a colonel of hussars with black mustachios!' He answered, 'Do me the justice to believe that I did not come to the municipality to change my name, and that the new name has been imposed upon me. You heard the mob applaud that stupid Manuel: what could I do or say? I came to plead for my daughter, who is likely to be proscribed as an emigrant; and for her sake I was compelled to submit to the burlesque name imposed upon me.'"

Philip Egalité,—for by this name, so strangely acquired, he was ever after known,—became a candidate for the National Convention in the City of Paris, much against the wish of his family and friends. Paris returned twenty-four members, and eight supplemental delegates to take the place of any members who might die or be incapacitated. Egalité was the last of the twenty-four, and there was a very close run between him and Lhuillier, the first of the supplemental delegates, who was supported by Robespierre and Marat. The elections took place at a time of great excitement. The allied armies had taken Verdun: it was generally believed that they were preparing to march on Paris, and that the French must either abandon the Revolution, or fight with all the energy of despair. Resolved as the whole nation was to retain what it had won from royalty, it elected to the Convention men far more advanced in Revolutionary principles than had been returned to either of the former assemblies; indeed,

the abolition of royalty was one of the first acts of the new legislative body.

Scarcely was the Republic proclaimed, when internal disorders compromised its existence. The Parisian deputies, supported by the Municipality and the mobs, soon gained a majority in the Assembly, and took the name of the "Mountain," from their custom of occupying the highest seats in the hall of assembly. On the other hand, the more moderate Republicans, among whom the deputies of the Gironde were very conspicuous, took from that circumstance the name of Girondins. They had been the majority in the previous assembly; they were the minority in the Convention. From the first, the two parties shewed the most bitter animosity to each other: Robespierre, Danton, and Marat, the great chiefs of the Mountain, accused the Girondins of plotting to divide France into feeble and federative republics; while the Girondins accused their opponents of conspiring to establish a dictatorship.

Victory, which had favoured the Allies in the beginning of the campaign of 1792, changed sides towards the close of the year. The Austro-Prussian army retreated beyond the frontier, and the Republican armies prepared to invade Belgium. The Ducs de Chartres and Montpensier, who had taken an active part in the triumph of the French armies, obtained leave to spend a few days with their father at Paris, and for a short time cheered the solitude which was now characteristic of the saloons of the Palais Royal.

An important incident, hitherto but little known, was connected with this journey. Though Austria and Prussia had united their forces against the Republic, they had not quite laid aside their mutual jealousies. The Prussians were weary of the emigrant Princes at Coblentz, whose boasts and promises of their ability to raise a Royalist insurrection to favour the invasion of the Allies, had been signally falsified by events. The Prussian monarch became anxious to restore peace on equitable terms; but seeing no party in Paris with whom he could treat, he resolved to open communications with the Duke of Orleans. For this purpose, Frederic William sent his aide-de-camp, Colonel Monstein, to the head-quarters of the French army, commanding him to seek an interview with the Duc de Chartres, which was granted. The colonel placed in the young Prince's hands an autograph letter from the King of Prussia, which he requested him to deliver personally and cautiously into his father's hands. The Duc de Chartres, who from his earliest youth had manifested no ordinary share of prudence, refused to take charge of such a document unless previously informed of the nature of the negotiations with which it was connected. Monstein replied that the allied sovereigns had only taken up arms to re-establish the King on his throne, but that now, believing this to be impossible, and anxious to put an end to the scourge of war, they would consent to recognise a government of which the Duke of Orleans should be the head, on the single condition of an immediate liberation of the Royal

Family. The colonel concluded by offering the young Prince any command he pleased in the Austro-Prussian army.

As our sole authority for this incident is the account given of it by Louis Philippe himself, in later life, to M. Tournois, we have only his declaration to prove that, when he took charge of the letter, he by no means wished to sanction the proposals it contained. He must indeed have been aware that the Orleans party, however strong in the National Assembly, was utterly powerless in the Convention; the party of the Mountain hated the whole race of the Bourbons, and revolutionary principles had made such rapid progress that the establishment of an Orleans Regency would have been as difficult as the restoration of royalty itself. Philip Egalité sent the letter unopened to Brissot, in order that it might be communicated to the Convention; but Robert, Sillery, Petion, and others of the Orleans party, believing that the mere existence of the letter might compromise Philippe's safety, induced Brissot to commit it to the flames with the seal unbroken.

The Ducs de Chartres and Montpensier remained but a short time in Paris. The former joined the army of the North, which, under Dumouriez, was preparing to invade Belgium; the latter, after having for some time acted as aide-de-camp to his brother, became adjutant-general to the army of Italy, commanded by Biron, one of the few faithful friends of the Orleans family. After their departure, Philip Egalité fell into his usual

isolation, having no one with him but his young son, the Count de Beaujolais, for he was at law with his Duchess, and his daughter had not yet returned from England.

Philippe had written most pressing letters, commanding Madame de Genlis to bring back his daughter; but this conceited lady did not think fit to comply with his request, until Maret was sent with directions to bring the Princess home, whether her governess consented or not. Madame de Genlis and her young charge reached Paris on the 21st of November, but their names had been placed on the list of emigrants on the 12th of the preceding October, and they were consequently included in the pains and penalties of a decree adopted by the Convention on the 23rd of the same month, which declared that "the French emigrants should be banished in perpetuity from the territories of the Republic, and that those who returned in defiance of this law should be subject to the penalty of death."

Philippe Egalité, immediately after his daughter's return, brought her case under the consideration of the National Convention. His speech on the occasion was modest and affecting; but the Memoirs agree that it was very coldly received by the majority of the Assembly.

"Citizens," he said, "my daughter, who is only fifteen years of age, went over to England in the month of October, 1791, with Madame Brulart-Sillery, her governess, and two fellow-pupils, who have been brought up with her since infancy by Madame

Brulart-Sillery, one of whom is Henrietta Gauey, that lady's orphan niece; and the other, Pamela Seymour, for many years naturalised in France. Madame Brulart-Sillery has superintended the education of all my children, and the manner in which they conduct themselves proves that she has early trained them in the principles of liberty and in the civic virtues. The English language formed a part of the education which she gave my daughter; and one of the objects of this journey was to improve her in this study, especially in the pronunciation of the language. Another motive was the feeble health of my child, who had need of relaxation and of taking the waters, which were recommended as useful to her health. Finally, another motive—and it was not the least powerful—was to withdraw her from the influence of the principles of a lady who, however estimable, has not adopted opinions on present affairs exactly conformable with mine. Whilst these powerful reasons detained my daughter in England, her brothers served in our armies. I have not ceased to live in the midst of you, and I can safely say that myself and my children are not the citizens who would have been least exposed to danger if the cause of liberty had not triumphed. It is impossible—it is absurd, under all these circumstances—to look upon my daughter's visit to England as an emigration; it is impossible, it is absurd, to suppose that she had the slightest intention or thought of emigrating. I know very well that the law, in strictness, is applicable to her case; but the

slightest doubt to the contrary is sufficient to console a father. I beseech you, then, citizens, to calm my disquietudes. If, in proceeding to the extreme (but I cannot believe you will apply to my daughter the utmost rigour of the law), the sentiments of nature will not stifle in me the duties of a citizen; and by removing her from her country, in obedience to the law, I shall give a fresh proof of the value I place on the title of citizen, which I prefer to all others."

In compliance with the Duke's request, a law was proposed excepting from the penalties of emigration those who had quitted the country for purposes of health or education, which would probably have passed with little difficulty, had not several other deputies brought forward analogous exceptional cases. It was resolved that a general law should be prepared embracing all cases of exception; but through the influence of "the Mountain" this was never done.

On the 5th of December, the Municipality of Paris issued an order commanding that Madame de Genlis and the Princess should quit Paris in twenty-four hours and France within forty-eight. They were conducted beyond the frontier by the Duc de Chartres, who, having left them at Tournai, returned to Paris in the hope of persuading his unhappy father to emigrate with his family to the United States of America. Instead of taking this prudent advice, Louis-Philippe Joseph published the following letter in the Parisian journals,—a letter more likely to confirm than to

disarm the suspicions with which he was viewed by the ultra-republicans.

"Paris, Dec. 9, first year of the Republic.

"Several journals pretend to publish that I entertain ambitious designs, dangerous to the liberty of my country, and that in case of the removal of Louis XVI. I am working behind the curtain to place myself or my son at the head of the Government. I should not take the trouble of refuting these imputations did they not tend to produce division and discord,—to give rise to parties, and to prevent the establishment of that equality which must constitute the happiness of Frenchmen and the basis of the Republic. Here is my profession of faith in this respect: it is the same which I published in 1791, in the closing days of the Constituent Assembly. Here is what I declared from the *tribune*—'I do not believe, gentlemen, that your committees intend to deprive any relative of the King of the power of choosing between the quality of a French citizen and the expectation, however remote, of succeeding to the throne. I propose, then, that you should reject purely and simply the project of your committees; but in case of your adopting it, I declare that I will lay upon your table my formal renunciation of my rights as a member of the reigning dynasty, to preserve those of a French citizen.' My children are ready to sign with their blood that they entertain the same sentiments as myself. (Signed) "L. P. JOSEPH."

The attack on the Orleans family, which the Duc de Chartres had so clearly foreseen, was not delayed, much less averted, by the publication of this letter. On the 16th of December, the Convention unanimously adopted the proposition of Thuriot, "That whoever should propose or attempt to disturb the unity of the Republic, or to detach any of its integrant parts to unite them to a foreign State, should be punished with death."

So soon as the vote was taken, Buzot rose in his place and said, "Citizens, you have done well to enact this law against those who may attempt to dismember the State; but the Royalists have been denounced to you, and this decree does not affect them all. If you will permit me, I will propose to you a new measure, which I believe to be salutary." Loud cheers from all parts of the Assembly invited the orator to ascend the tribune, which he immediately did, and in a long speech demanded the banishment of the House of Orleans, after the example of the Athenians, who ostracised the citizens they believed dangerous to liberty, and of the Romans, who proscribed the whole family of the Tarquins. "I demand," he said, in conclusion, "that Philippe and his sons should carry to some other land beyond the precincts of the Republic the misfortune of having been born too near the throne, of having known its maxims and received its examples,— the misfortune of having inherited a name which may serve as a rallying cry to the factions, or to the emissaries of foreign powers, by

the mention of which the ear of free men ought to be no longer wounded."

Louvet supported this proposal with great eagerness. A stormy discussion of several hours ensued, which terminated in the adoption of the following decree,—the question whether it should include Louis-Philippe Joseph and his children having been adjourned for two days. "All members of the Bourbon family, who are at present in France, except those who are detained in the Temple, on whose fate the National Assembly reserves to itself the power of pronouncing, shall quit the department of Paris within three days, and within eight days the territory of the Republic, as well as the territory occupied by its armies."

On the evening of the same day, as was then usual, the subject which had been discussed by the Convention was brought under the consideration of the Jacobin club, when Maximilian Robespierre delivered the following remarkable speech.

"It was out of my power," said this orator, "to be present to day at the Convention, but I declare that if I could have attended, I would have voted for the motion of Buzot and Louvet. It is in strict conformity with principle, and the conduct of Brutus is applicable to our actual position. I confess that the family of Orleans has shewn a great deal of patriotism. I by no means oppose myself to the gratitude which is due to that family; but whoever or whatever the members of the late Royal Family may be, they must

be sacrificed to the truth of principles. Can the nation assure itself that all the members of this family will be invariably attached to principles? I am far from accusing those of its members who have been accused this morning by the aristocratic party. I do not believe that they belong to any faction; but we must adhere to principles. In these times, such obscurity is spread over characters that we cannot know the direct aim of the House of Orleans. Patriots have appeared to defend Citizen Orleans, because they believed in the principles attached to his cause. And one thing very certain is, that the patriots have never had any connections with the House of Orleans, but that this decree has been proposed by those who have the most intimate connections with that House. How does it happen that Petion, who is of the Brissotine faction, and evidently a friend of Orleans, should have declared himself against him? Here is matter for reflection. How does it happen that Sillery, the confidential friend of the House of Orleans, does not abandon the society of Brissot and Petion? How does it happen that the patriots who have defended Orleans have never had any connection with his House? How does it happen that Orleans has been nominated to the Convention by those who are politically associated with Brissot? How does it happen that Louvet has sought to accredit the report that we (the Jacobins) sought to elevate Orleans to the throne? How does it happen that Louvet, who is well aware of my having voted against Orleans in the electoral assembly, has

circulated in his libels that to this very Orleans I am anxious to give a crown?

"Here is the consequence which I am anxious to deduce from all this. It is not that the motion of this morning has been a mere farce, like so many other motions, but that this motion conceals a snare, in which it is sought to entrap patriots. The object of this faction is to give itself a Republican air; and to arrive at this object it wishes to impute to us all the projects which it meditates itself. The object of this faction is to excite, in credulous minds, unfounded alarms by the use of artful phrases. They speak about the dictatorship,—a fable which has not made their fortune; they consequently desire to move another spring; they wish to call us the Orleanist faction. The object of the Brissotines is to annihilate the people by entering into alliance with any tyrant, whosoever he may be. This observation may throw some light on the matter. For my part, I had long formed the determination to demand the exile of Orleans, and of all the Bourbons; and this demand is not cruel, as you have been told; for they can seek refuge in London, and the nation will provide for the support of the exiled family. They have not been destitute of merit towards their country; their exclusion is not a punishment, but a measure of security; and if the members of this family are actuated by right principles, they will regard themselves as honoured by this exile; for it is always honourable to serve the cause of freedom; and the exile of the family will assuredly not be con-

tinued longer than the dangers of the country require; it will be recalled when liberty is firmly established.

"I therefore invite my colleagues to vote for the project of the decree presented by Buzot and Louvet."

The debate was renewed in the Convention on the 19th of December, and it was finally resolved that the execution of the edict of the 16th should be suspended —at least, so far as the Orleans family was concerned, —and that the further consideration of the matter should be adjourned until the termination of the trial of Louis XVI. It deserves to be remarked that on this occasion Marat voted in favour of Louis-Philippe Joseph, asserting the inviolability of deputies of the people, but at the same time he bitterly assailed the Prince, and avowed himself his personal enemy. "I declare," he said, "that I have always regarded the Duke of Orleans as an unworthy favourite of fortune, without soul, without compassion; having, for his only merit, the jargon of a lady's chamber. I also declare, that I have never believed in his civism, that the marks which he has given of it seem to me connected with ambitious projects which he has neither the spirit nor the courage to carry forward to success, in spite of the numerous partisans attracted by his fortune, his wealth, and his immense prodigality. I further declare that I regard him as a concealed intriguer, cajoling the patriots with whom he has made acquaintance, and secretly connected with Roland's band of plotters, who work for him while they pretend to oppose him. Finally, I declare, that if the enormous dilapidations of

the agents of the new government, the alarming perfidies of the traitors who command the armies of the Republic, the excess of the misery of the people, and the disorders of frightful anarchy carried to its height, should ever force the nation to renounce democracy and give itself a chief—an event which I believe inevitable if the Convention does not raise itself to the level of its important functions—Orleans appears to me the last of men (except conspirators and traitors) on whom it would be proper to turn our eyes; and if I am then in the number of living men, I would rather suffer martyrdom than give him my vote." To this angry philippic the orator added, "A patriot Prince is, in my eyes, as chimerical a being as a virtuous scoundrel."

The sons of the Duke of Orleans and the most faithful of his friends were anxious that he should withdraw himself from France and seek a residence either in Switzerland or in America, until the crisis, which everybody knew to be approaching, had passed. He sat and voted with the party of "the Mountain," but, as we have seen, he was distrusted and hated by the more violent leaders of that party, and every effort he made to gain their confidence seemed only to involve him in deeper suspicion. His birth, his position, the part he had taken in politics, and the traditions of his family, inevitably rendered him odious both to Royalists and Republicans. Peace abroad and tranquillity at home could only be obtained by anticipating the course taken in 1830, and placing a Prince

attached to the popular cause at the head of a constitutional monarchy. Whether he desired such a consummation is exceedingly doubtful—it may even be described as most improbable; but this is a matter of little consequence,—it was obviously the result most desirable for the country. His position was most critical and most dangerous amid the increasing exasperation of parties; safety could only be hoped from a speedy retreat, particularly when it was resolved to bring the King to trial. From that hour Louis-Philippe Joseph could neither advance with honour nor recede with safety.

No satisfactory explanation has ever been given of the pertinacious obstinacy with which the Duke of Orleans rejected the solicitations of his family, and clung to his dangerous residence in Paris. It has been suggested that he was unwilling to compromise the military career of his sons, Chartres and Montpensier, but this appears to be a very inadequate motive. Amid the obscurity which veils this part of his history, some liberty of conjecture may be allowed, and we think it not improbable that the Duke of Orleans, though not ambitious of royalty for himself, may have speculated on the elevation of his eldest son to the throne. That such a plan had been contemplated by the friends of constitutional monarchy is fully proved by the Memoirs of Dumouriez; but whether it ever went beyond any of the thousand speculations then formed on the final result of the Revolution, cannot be determined with certainty. From the moment that the Prince had sub-

mitted to Republican baptism, and taken the title of Philip Egalité, he must have felt that no nation, and no influential party in a nation, could degrade itself by associating his name with monarchy. His own chances were evidently gone ; but he may have, therefore, been the more stimulated to preserve the chances of his son.

It is not necessary for us to dwell minutely on the trial of Louis XVI. It was a national crime, for which no necessity and no justification can be pleaded. It is, however, of some importance to note the dates of its progress. The suspension of Royal power was voted on the 10th of August, and a committee was appointed to examine the King's private papers, as well as all the ministerial despatches. On the 16th of September, 1792, Gohrer reported that these papers contained decisive evidence of the King's having intrigued with foreign powers to check the progress of the Revolution. A new committee was appointed to continue the investigation, and this body reported on the 6th of November, that there was sufficient evidence to justify the bringing of the King to trial. The discussion was opened on the 13th of the same month, and was continued for several weeks. On the 20th, Roland, Minister of the Interior, presented to the Convention an iron coffer which had been discovered in the Tuileries, very carefully concealed, containing the secret correspondence of the Court with Mirabeau, Lafayette, Bertrand de Molleville, &c. ; and the letters certainly proved that Louis XVI. was dissatisfied with the Constitution which he had sworn to uphold, and was

anxious to introduce modifications which would give greater stability and importance to Royalty. If this could be deemed a crime in the King, it was one in which the great majority of his judges participated; for if he was anxious to fall back on Royalty, they were still more eager to advance to Republicanism. On the 3rd of December, it was resolved that the King should be brought to trial before the National Convention. A report on the King's conduct since the commencement of the Revolution, was presented on the 10th, and adopted on the 11th without discussion. In the course of the same day, Louis XVI. was interrogated; his defence was heard on the 26th, and on the 27th the debate on the verdict and sentence was commenced.

On the 15th of January the first question was put: "Is Louis guilty of conspiracy against the liberty of the nation, and of treason against the safety of the State?" On this question 720 voted, of whom 709 pronounced the affirmative, and eleven recorded different answers, none of which amounted to a direct negative.

The second question was—"Shall the judgment of the National Convention against Louis XVI. be submitted to the ratification of the people?" The number of voters was 715; of these 286 answered in the affirmative, and 424 in the negative, while five gave conditional votes.

The great question of life and death was decided in the permanent sitting of the 16th and 17th of January. Every deputy voted individually, the question being put to each by the President,—"What punishment

shall be inflicted on Louis?" There were 721 present; of these 387 voted for death, and 334 for secondary punishment, imprisonment, exile, or death in case of foreign invasion. When the question was put to Louis-Philippe Joseph, he made the reply which has not undeservedly consigned his name to eternal infamy—

"Solely occupied by my duties, and convinced that those who have conspired, or may conspire, against the sovereignty of the people, merit death,—*I vote for death.*"

A shudder of horror went round the Assembly, and even the most ardent Republicans condemned a vote which outraged all the sacred ties of family, and every obligation of decency and morality. The exclamations of disgust from every side anticipated the verdict of posterity.

On the 19th, the fourth and last question was put: "Shall the execution of Louis be delayed?" The number of voters was 690, of whom 310 voted in the affirmative, and 380 in the negative. The King was condemned on the 20th, and executed on the 21st.

From the moment that the resolution to bring the King to trial was known, the Ducs de Chartres and Montpensier used their utmost exertions to prevent their father from taking any part in the proceedings. The Duc de Chartres wrote energetic remonstrances, the Duc de Montpensier came in person to Paris to try the effect of prayers and tears. Barrère, however, had acquired a preponderating influence over the mind of the Prince; and to his persuasions the infamy which

presses upon the name of Orleans must, in a great degree, be attributed. But the very fact of this vote refutes the tales told of the Duke's aspirations to Royalty; no one can suppose that if the restoration of monarchy had been possible, France would have endured the accession of a Thyestean regicide.

It has been asserted that Philip Egalité witnessed the execution of his unhappy cousin. Not a particle of evidence has ever been adduced in support of this assertion; on the contrary, there is proof that he retired to his country-seat at Raincy immediately after having given his fatal vote, and thenceforth lived in a state of seclusion and alarm. No trace can be discovered of his mode of life during the months of February and March: the world seems to have abandoned him: he knew that his wife and his sons viewed his conduct with horror, and that so far was his vote from conciliating his Jacobin enemies, it had only sharpened their rage, and armed them with weapons for his destruction. The proposal for including him in the decree condemning the whole family of the Bourbons to exile, was revived; but it was not pressed, because circumstances soon enabled his enemies to adopt more fatal proceedings.

Dumouriez, the victorious general of the Revolution, had been intimately connected with the Orleans family. His chief favourites in the army were the Duc de Chartres and General Valence, the son-in-law of Madame de Genlis. To these he communicated his disgust at the recent proceedings of the Convention, and he found that they fully participated in his sentiments.

After having subdued Belgium and menaced Holland, he was defeated by the Austrians at Neerwinden, on the 18th of March, and was obliged to evacuate all his conquests. Dumouriez had previously expressed his dissatisfaction with the Convention, and, on his own responsibility, had annulled the proceedings of the Commissioners sent by that body to regulate the affairs of Belgium. Nothing but a continued career of victory prevented the furious Conventionalists from immediately resenting such an insult to their authority ; and so soon as defeat afforded them an opportunity, they voted that Dumouriez should be summoned to give an account of his conduct at the bar of their House. Six Commissioners were sent to convey notice of this vote to Dumouriez, who refused to pay the least attention to the summons. They threatened to resort to force, upon which he arrested the whole six, and sent them off as prisoners to the Austrian lines. At this time he believed that the army was so devoted to him that it would have marched on Paris, dissolved the Convention, and restored the constitutional monarchy of 1791 ; but he was soon undeceived : his soldiers rose against him, and would have sent him a prisoner to Paris had he not hastily made his escape to the Austrian camp. The Duc de Chartres and General Valence were the companions of his flight.

Dumouriez was no doubt profoundly grieved by the King's death ; but it is very difficult to comprehend the motives usually assigned to his proceedings on this occasion. His own explanation of them is vague and

unsatisfactory ; indeed, his conduct bears the marks of haste and ill-temper rather than deliberate design. According to his own narrative, he had formed a plan for delivering the Royal Family from their prison in the Temple ; and when this failed, he thought it advisable to seize and detain the commissioners as hostages. But he adds, that he had received information of a plot formed by the Jacobins to have himself assassinated on the road to Paris by the soldiers of a cavalry regiment, which he had dismounted for insubordination. The personal motives are put so strongly forward, that we are led to believe that they had much more influence over his conduct than the hopeless project of restoring constitutional monarchy. It has been said that he meditated the elevation of the Duc de Chartres to the throne, which, however, he always indignantly denied ; but he could not have made any governmental arrangements from which the Orleans family would be excluded. The Duc de Chartres was the most popular and most meritorious of the Princes of the Blood, and, had Dumouriez succeeded, this Prince must have taken the lead either as King or Regent. After a careful examination of all the evidence, we have been led to the conclusion that Dumouriez was influenced infinitely more by passionate resentment against the Jacobins, than by any attachment to the principles of constitutional monarchy or the persons of the Royal Family.

Imprudent as the conduct of Dumouriez had been, the manifesto which he issued in justification of his

conduct, before he fled to the Austrian camp, was infinitely more so, since it tended to implicate all his officers in the plans he had formed for the overthrow of the Convention. It was the terror produced by this announcement which induced the Convention, on the 4th of April, to decree that "the fathers and mothers, the wives and children, of the officers of the army lately commanded by General Dumouriez, from the grade of sub-lieutenant to that of lieutenant-general, inclusive, should be guarded as hostages by each municipality of the place in which they resided, until the commissioners, detained by the perfidy of Dumouriez, should be restored, and the army of Belgium given up to the new general appointed to take its command."

"Five months," said Barbaroux from the *tribune*, "have passed since we denounced the Orleans faction, and during these five months we have been treated as bad citizens; to-day, you must confess that we were right from the beginning. In fact, what does Dumouriez demand? He asks for the restoration of the old constitution (that of 1791). Whom, then, does this constitution summon to the throne? I answer, the Duke of Orleans; and I demand that cognizance should be taken of my act of accusation."

Boyer-Fonfrede followed on the same side, and with greater violence. He demanded that General Valence and Louis-Philippe of Orleans, whose departure with Dumouriez was not yet known, should be summoned to the bar of the Convention. This, however, was not

done ; but it was ordered that the wife and children of General Valence, Mesdames de Montesson and Orleans, the aunt and mother of Louis-Philippe of Orleans, should be placed under arrest ; and that Sillery, the father-in-law of the first, and Louis-Philippe Joseph, the father-in-law of the second, should be guarded in sight, but with liberty to go to any place they pleased within the barriers of Paris.

Sillery and the Prince were present at this debate, and took part in it. "When we debate on the punishment of traitors," said Sillery, "if my son-in-law is guilty, I am standing before the image of Brutus."

"If I am guilty," said Louis-Philippe Joseph, "I ought to be punished ; if my son is guilty, I too see Brutus."

Notwithstanding these classical protestations, when news arrived of the flight of General Valence and the Duc de Chartres, orders were given for the arrest of Sillery and Louis-Philippe Joseph : they were seized on the 6th of April, and conveyed to the Hôtel de Ville. The following remonstrance was published in Paris on the following day :—

"Paris, from the Mayoralty, April 7.

"FELLOW-CITIZENS,—Two individuals have come to my house, one calling himself a peace-officer, the other an inspector of police. They presented to me a requisition, signed Paché,* to attend at the mayoralty. I

* Paché was at this time Mayor of Paris.

followed them. There a decree of the Convention was shewn me, ordaining the arrest of the family of the Bourbons. I requested that they might suspend its operation with regard to me, who have been invincibly attached to the Republic, confident of my innocence, and only desirous to see the moment arrive when my conduct shall be scrutinized. I would not have impeded the execution of the decree, had I not believed that it would compromise the character with which I am invested.

"PHILIPPE EGALITE."

When this remonstrance was presented to the National Convention, it was voted, almost without discussion, that "it had always been intended to comprehend Louis-Philippe Joseph Egalité in the decree which ordained the arrest of the Bourbons." This was notoriously false; but no one protested against it. The Girondins were disgusted and enraged by the vote Egalité had given for the death of the King; the Jacobins were determined on destroying the last vestige of Royalty; and those who were not included in either party were too much terrified by the supposed designs of Dumouriez to bestow a thought either on truth or justice. The arrest of the Prince and of his young son, the Count de Beaujolais, was declared to be definitive, and they were transferred in the course of the day to the Abbaye Saint-Germain.

On the 8th of April, the Convention decreed that all the Bourbons in France, except those confined in the

Temple, should be removed to Marseilles and closely imprisoned. This decree was opposed by Maximilian Robespierre, who insisted that the families of Sillery and Orleans should be sent at once for trial before the Revolutionary Tribunal. On the night of the 9th of April, the Duke of Orleans, his son the Count de Beaujolais, his sister the Duchess of Bourbon, and his uncle the Prince of Conti, were removed from Paris, and transferred by easy stages to the fort of Notre Dame de la Garde, in the vicinity of Marseilles. The Duchess of Orleans was sick at Vernon, and was, with the consent of Robespierre, left undisturbed.

A sad but interesting surprise awaited the Duke of Orleans when he reached Marseilles. His second son, the Duc de Montpensier, whom he believed to be serving in the army of Italy as adjutant-general, was already an inmate of the prison, and destined to be the companion of his captivity. There is, perhaps, no more interesting record of the French Revolution than the account which the Duc de Montpensier has left of his imprisonment and sufferings; and we regret that we are compelled to resist the temptation of giving the narrative in his own words.

When the Duc de Chartres went over to the Austrian lines with Dumouriez, aware that his brother Montpensier might be compromised, he sent him a letter by a trusty messenger, acquainting him with what he had done, and recommending him to provide for his own safety. The courier, by some unfortunate accident, was delayed on the road, and, previous to his arrival,

peremptory orders from Paris reached Marshal Biron to arrest the young Prince, and send him under a strong escort to Paris.

"I was engaged to dine with the Marshal," says the narrative, "on the 8th of April,—a fatal day, which I can never forget! Not finding him in his saloon, I went towards the door of his cabinet, when I saw him come out hastily and with marks of the most lively agitation. He started on seeing me, and said in a low voice, 'I wish to speak to you in private.'" They entered the cabinet, and the Marshal communicated to the young Duke that he had received the most stringent orders for his arrest from the Committee of Public Safety. They exhausted themselves in vain efforts to conjecture the cause. All, however, the Marshal could do was to give the Prince an opportunity of destroying any documents by which he might be compromised, before the arrival of the Commissioners appointed to take charge of his papers. There were two dangerous papers in his possession, written by his elder brother, the Duc de Chartres, after the judicial murder of Louis XVI., reprobating the conduct of the Convention in no very measured terms, and expressing an ardent desire to quit the service in which he was engaged. These perilous documents had scarcely been burned when the Commissioners arrived, who were so rigid in their scrutiny that they even placed their seals on his stock of blank paper. They were greatly annoyed at not finding the evidence they expected, and the Prince, who had not at the

time reached his eighteenth year, felt a boyish gratification in their disappointment.

Marshal Biron* left opportunities of escape open to Montpensier; but he, ignorant of his brother's flight, and unwilling to compromise the safety of his family, did not avail himself of them. He quitted Nice on the same evening, guarded only by two officers, for a larger escort would have attracted the suspicions of the exalted Jacobins in the south of France,—the most violent and sanguinary of the furies of the French Revolution, not excepting the mob of Paris.

"We reached Aix," says the Prince, "on the 11th of April, about two o'clock in the morning. We reckoned on merely traversing the town without halting, and on taking the direction of Paris as speedily

* The Duc de Biron, who in his youthful days as Duc de Lauzun became renowned for his adventurous gallantry, had been a friend of the Duke of Orleans from his childhood, and was fondly attached to all the members of the family. Having been arrested and sent to the Conciergerie, he was brought before the Revolutionary Tribunal, December 31st, 1793, and was condemned to be executed on the evening of the same day. On his return to prison he asked for a dish of oysters and a bottle of white wine, which were brought to him after some delay; the executioner entered while he was enjoying this his final repast. "My friend," said Biron to him, "I am at your service; but allow me to finish my oysters, I will not detain you long. You need to be strengthened for the business you have undertaken: here—take a glass of wine with me." Biron then filled out for the executioner, the gaoler, and himself; and when the glasses were empty, declared his readiness for the scaffold. He displayed the same reckless hardihood at the place of execution; indeed fortitude was the general characteristic of the victims of this unhappy period.

as possible; for my chief officer, who had already had an affair with the Jacobins of the south, assured me that he would have no rest until he had taken me out of their country, and that so long as we remained in it he believed my life would be in danger. But we found a numerous guard at the gate of Aix, who surrounded our carriage, stopped it, and compelled us to go to the municipality. There we underwent a kind of examination. I say *we*, for my guard, whom they suspected to be an aristocrat in disguise, had to reply to their questions as well as myself. It was useless for him to protest against the delays interposed to the execution of his orders, and to declare that those who thus behaved were guilty of disobedience to the superior authorities. These gentlemen paid no attention to his remonstrances, but cunningly smiling at the pleasure of having made what they considered a good capture, ordered us to pass into a neighbouring room and await the result of their deliberations. My guard was furious, but it was necessary to obey, and I could not avoid complimenting him on becoming a prisoner himself while he had me in charge. He took my pleasantry in good part, and assured me that my safety was the principal object of the exertions he had made, and of the vexation which he felt at their ill success. '*For*,' added he, '*I know nothing more despicable nor more revolting than to sacrifice to a vile rabble, without any exertions to save them, the lives of men the most innocent and the most respectable.*' While we were talking by ourselves on this sad matter,

in a large room near that in which the municipality held its meetings, we heard a great noise. Several voices exclaimed, '*We must get in.*' Others replied, '*You must not enter.*' Heavy blows then fell on the folding-doors, and both were burst open. A crowd of the rabble, literally in the costume of the *sansculottes*, rushed into the room. Luckily for us, several officers and soldiers of the National Guard arrived at the same time, crying out, '*Citizens, by whose orders have you entered here, and forced the guard at the door?*' One of the mob replied, '*By order of the people; do you not know that the people is the sovereign?*' There was no answering this argument. '*Besides,*' said another, '*we do not intend to do harm to anybody; we have only come to look at the prisoners they are hiding from us, and we wish to know them.*' At this moment, several of the municipal authorities entering with their badges of office, requested the mob to retire, and were obeyed.

"After this scene, which, as may well be believed, was very disquieting, especially at the beginning, we waited nearly two hours longer in this room, and it was near five o'clock in the morning when we were brought back to the apartment in which we had been first received. We found there this time the administrative authorities of the district united to the municipality to decide upon our fate. The president then informed us that the Assembly had resolved to detain us at Aix, until they had taken the opinion of the departmental authorities at Marseilles."

On the following day the Prince learned that he was to be removed to Marseilles until the pleasure of the Convention was known; and thus, singularly enough, the last decree of the Convention was put in force by the provincial authorities while actually disobeying its orders. Separated from his friendly guardian, and entrusted to the charge of a company of the National Guard, the young Prince had to endure many brutal jests on the misfortunes of the Royal Family, evidently designed to wound his feelings. One miscreant, alluding to the recent death of Louis XVI., said, "We have cut down the trunk; but the business will be incomplete until we destroy every fibre of the roots, for some one of them may sprout up again." Others, however, behaved more generously, and the authorities of Marseilles had taken every precaution to shield the young Prince from the violence of the mob.

These precautions were necessary: the most offensive words and the most menacing gestures followed the unhappy youth from the gate of the city to the Hôtel de Ville. Such was the gratitude of the populace to the House of Orleans for all the sacrifices it had made to advance the cause of the Revolution!

The dangers to which men at this unhappy period were exposed on the slightest suspicion, was singularly illustrated by a curious incident. On the second day of the Prince's imprisonment, his valet, named Gamache, came into his dungeon, exclaiming, "Good God! what have you done?—you have ruined us by

your imprudence!" The Prince asked for an explanation, and Gamache said that the authorities, in searching the Prince's portmanteau, had found proofs of his having entered into a treasonable correspondence with the Marquis de Villeblanche, one of the emigrant nobles. This greatly perplexed the Prince, as the Marquis was only known to him by name. After some time, however, he remembered that, while serving under Dumouriez, he had occupied a room in which M. de Villeblanche had slept some few nights before; and that, finding some of the Marquis's visiting tickets lying about, he had put one of them into the pocket of his waistcoat, and never thought about it afterwards. The ticket was not afterwards produced in evidence; but if it had been, at such a frightful time, it might have weighed heavily against him.

Three days after the Prince's arrival at Marseilles, the Orleans family were brought thither from Paris, and they were all confined in the fort of Notre Dame de la Garde. For a few days the prisoners were allowed to enjoy each other's society without restraint, and they gladly availed themselves of the privilege. Whatever his other faults may have been, Egalité was an affectionate father, and his children fully reciprocated his love.

"About three or four days after our arrival at Fort Notre Dame," says Montpensier, "whilst I was quietly breakfasting with my father and Beaujolais, we were interrupted by the visit of three administrators, the officer of the guard, and two National

Guards with their muskets. The room was so small that it could hardly contain them. One of the administrators said, 'Citizens, we are sorry to interrupt you, but we have just received an order which must be executed: the members of the Bourbon family must from henceforth be deprived of the liberty of communicating with each other; it is in consequence necessary that the eldest of your sons should at once retire to his chamber, and should henceforth abstain from visiting yours. The youngest will be allowed to remain with you; but he is equally forbidden to visit his brother's room.' This declaration petrified us, and put death into my heart. 'But, at least,' said my father, 'can you not tell us whence this rigorous order emanates, which deprives us of the only consolation left us?'—'I believe,' replied the other, 'that it is by virtue of a decree of the Convention; but, I repeat to you that the order must be instantly obeyed. Come, citizen,' added he, addressing himself to me, 'obey the law.'—'Your law,' I replied, 'is barbarous and tyrannical; it would be less cruel to shoot or to guillotine us upon the spot than to kill us by inches.'—'Restrain yourself,' said my father; 'we will endeavour to obtain a revocation of this law, but strive in the mean time to submit to it, and believe that your vexation is fully shared by your brother and myself.' I shook hands with them both, and retired without uttering a word, my face bathed in tears which I was unable to restrain. Sentinels were posted at our doors."

In the beginning of May the prisoners were interrogated by the judges of the tribunal for the department of the Lower Rhone, and remanded to prison. They were soon after transferred to Fort St. Jean, where the restrictions on the intercourse of the prisoners were relaxed for a few days, but only to be renewed with greater severity than before. During the long struggle between the Mountain and the Gironde, the prisoners appear to have been forgotten; but soon after the triumph of the Jacobins, when Brissot and his companions had been delivered over to the Revolutionary Tribunal, it was remembered that Egalité had been suspected of a share in the imaginary conspiracy of Dumouriez. Billaud-Varenne brought the subject before the Convention. "The time is come," he said, "when all the conspirators ought to be known and punished. I demand that a man, who seems to be forgotten, in spite of the numerous facts deposed against him, should not be passed over in silence. I demand that Orleans be sent before the Revolutionary Tribunal, along with the other conspirators."

This proposition was adopted without discussion on the 3rd of October, and, by a singular coincidence, the decree for sending Marie Antoinette to trial was adopted on the same day.

"It was on the morning of the 15th of October," says the Duc de Montpensier, "while I was conversing with my father, we saw Beaujolais come in with an air of anxiety which he in vain endeavoured to disguise. My father asked him whether anything new

had happened? 'There is,' said he, 'some question raised about you in the papers.'—'If that is all, my dear child, it is nothing new, for they do me that honour very often; but I should be very glad to read the paper, if you can procure it for me.'—'It was with my aunt that I saw it, but she was unwilling I should speak to you on the subject; I know, however, that it is your desire to be informed of everything.'—'You are very right; but, tell me, was it in the Convention that a discussion was raised about me?'—'Yes, papa; and it has been decreed that you shall be brought to trial.'—'So much the better! so much the better, my son! all this must end, one way or other: and of what can they accuse me? Embrace me, my children; I am enchanted by this intelligence.' I was far from sharing his joy; but his perfect security, and the inclination we all have to believe what we desire, prevented me from experiencing such keen disquietude as I should have felt, had I learned this fatal news in his absence. He ordered the paper to be brought, and read the decree of accusation against him in conjunction with several other persons. 'It is grounded on nothing,' he said; 'it has been solicited by miscreants. But it is no matter; I defy them to produce anything against me.' In this manner did that optimism which prevailed in his character conceal from him the frightful danger to which he was exposed. 'Come, dear boys,' said he, 'don't be dejected at that which I look upon as good news; let us have a game.' We did so, and he played as cheerfully and as gaily as if nothing had occurred.

"A few days after, we were visited by the three Commissioners who came from Paris in search of their victim. They behaved with the utmost politeness, told us not to have the least uneasiness, and assured us that it was less a judgment than an explanation that was desired.

"On the 3rd October, at five in the morning, I was awoke by my poor father, who entered my dungeon with the butchers who were conducting him to the slaughter. He embraced me tenderly. 'I come, my dear Montpensier,' said he, 'to bid you adieu; I am just setting off.' I was unable to utter a single word. I pressed him to my agonized bosom, while I shed a torrent of tears. 'I meant,' added he, 'to have gone without bidding you adieu, for such moments are always painful; but I could not resist the desire of seeing you once more before my departure. Adieu, my child; console yourself, console your brother, and think, both of you, of the happiness we shall enjoy when next we meet.' Alas! that happiness we were never destined to enjoy."

The Duke of Orleans set out from Marseilles, strictly watched by the Commissioners of General Safety. He was attended only by his son's valet, Gamache, from whose narrative we extract the following account of the journey :—

"Our carriage was escorted by the gendarmerie. When the Prince arrived at Aix, he asked the Commissioners if it would not be possible to get rid of this escort, as he felt himself perfectly secure in the

midst of them, and had no disquietude about his safety. The Commissioners were highly flattered by what the Prince said to them, and replied that they would avoid doing anything which might displease him: the escort was dismissed. That night the Prince slept at Orgon; as we started early, we reached the place in good time. The Commissioners did not allow him to stir a step without them.

"When we reached Auxerre, the Prince got out of the coach for dinner. While they were preparing the repast, I perceived that one of the Commissioners had written a letter in a closet, and sent it off by a postillion; I immediately informed the Prince of the circumstance, and his Highness thought, that the only object of the letter was to announce our approach. This proved to be true. We set out for Paris immediately after dinner. As we passed through La Rue St. Victor an individual stopped the carriage, and got in: this was M. Simonin, the Commissioner of the Conciergerie. He ordered the carriage to be driven to the court of the Palais de Justice, which we found filled by anxious crowds: they said nothing, but contented themselves with staring at us. The Prince, having descended from his carriage, was led into this horrible abode, which he never quitted until he was led to death. I found that I was also to be placed under restraint: they assigned me a small room near the porter's lodge.

"I asked leave from the Commissioner to go and bring our trunks from the carriage. This permission

was granted; two gendarmes were sent with me, and men were engaged to bring in the luggage. As I entered the second time, I heard the turnkey say to the gendarmes, 'You must not let that citizen out again; what is good to take is good to keep.' I shewed him that our task was not yet completed, and that there were still some packages to be brought in. He answered, in the harshest tone, 'They will be brought in presently.' We never saw any one of these articles; they consisted chiefly of tobacco, liqueurs, and similar luxuries of very little value. I was led back to my room, and I asked the Commissioner leave to rejoin *the citizen Orleans*, saying, that I had always accompanied him ever since his arrest, and that no possible inconvenience could arise from my resuming my attendance. I received a very harsh refusal; and this gave me more pain than when I was told at the gate that I should remain a prisoner.

"There were, in the Prince's chamber, the Commissioners who had brought him to Paris, two other private individuals, and the Commissioner to whom I had just spoken. After having gone through the legal formalities, they all went out, and the Commissioner with whom I had the altercation said, as he was departing, 'You may enter now.'

"When I went into the chamber of the Prince, his Highness said to me, 'It appears that they have raised objections against allowing you to enter, my dear Gamache; I should have been very sorry if we had been separated.' 'And I, too, citizen; I have used my

utmost exertions to obtain permission to rejoin you, without quitting you again.' 'I thank you, Gamache; we must hope that we shall not always be in prison.'

"When alone with me, his Highness shewed me so much kindness that I did not hesitate to express to him the sorrow I felt at seeing him treated in so unworthy a manner. His Highness was moved by the sentiments I expressed, and told me that he wished to write to his children, but that he feared his letters would be opened and read as they had been at Marseilles, before being intrusted to the post. 'I believe that such will be the case,' I replied; 'the Commissioners here are far more strict and severe than they were at Fort St. Jean; it is most difficult to obtain an answer when any one asks them a question.'

"We heard a noise in the corridor. After some difficulty the persons outside succeeded in opening our door; they had first tried every key on the jailor's bunch. How long the time appeared to us! anxious expectation was on the stretch to know what could happen to us in such an abode.

"At nine o'clock, M. Voidel (the advocate retained to defend the Duke of Orleans) came to see his Highness. He was in the best possible spirits, and believed the Prince perfectly safe,—at least, if one might judge from his conversation: but, unfortunately, the Prince's condemnation and fate were determined before he was brought to trial."

Gamache was right. The Jacobins believed that so long as a prince lived, around whom it would be possi-

ble to rally the partisans of a limited and constitutional monarchy, the cause of the Republic would not be safe in France, and the condemnation of the Duke of Orleans was therefore fixed and predetermined. The Duke himself was not, almost to the last moment, aware of his danger. He reached Paris at five o'clock on the evening of the 2nd of November, and on the following day he wrote a letter, which has not been preserved, to his family at Marseilles, declaring that they need be under no apprehensions for his safety. Gamache testifies that, on the morning of the 6th, just before his appearance at the bar of the Revolutionary Tribunal, he declared his belief that no charge could be substantiated against him, and that the trial must end in the complete exoneration and liberation of himself and his family.

The trial took place on the 6th of November. Hermann was the President of the Court, and Antonelle, an ex-Marquis, who had formerly been one of the most assiduous courtiers at the Palais Royal, was foreman of the jury. No evidence was adduced but the Prince's answers to the interrogatories addressed to him by the President, and we therefore insert the entire examination :—

"Your name ?"

"Louis-Philippe Joseph Egalité"

"Your age ?"

"Forty-six."

"Your occupation ?"

"Admiral and Deputy to the National Convention."

"Your residence?"

"Paris."

"Did you know Brissot?"

"I did know, but do not recollect having spoken to him since he was in the Convention."

"What was the post which Genlis Sillery filled near you?"

"He was attached to me as Capitaine des Chasses of *ci-dévant* Dauphiné.

"Have you not had private interviews, at the house of Sillery, with La Clos, Brissot, and others?"

"No."

"How long is it since you ceased your intimacy with Petion?"

"Since he advised me to give in my resignation as a representative of the people."

"Have you not assisted at meetings held at Petion's?"

"No."

"How could you consent to deliver your daughter into the hands of that traitor and Genlis, that clever and intriguing woman, who has since emigrated?"

"I have indeed consented to deliver my daughter to the woman Sillery, who did not deserve my confidence; she was associated with Petion; I gave, without design, my approbation that he should accompany her to England."

"But ought you to have been ignorant that Sillery was an *intriguante?*"

"I was absolutely ignorant of it."

"What was the motive of the journey of your daughter to England?"

"The necessity of travelling in order to establish her health."

"Was it not in consequence of a combination that you, the accused, voted *for* the death of the tyrant, whilst Sillery, who was attached to you, voted *against* it?"

"No; I voted according to my soul and conscience."

"Did you know that Petion was connected with some of your family?"

"No."

"You were, undoubtedly, not ignorant that he kept up a constant correspondence with your son, who was with the army of Dumouriez?"

"I know that he received many letters from him."

"Did you know that Sillery was closely connected with Buzot and Louvet?"

"No."

"Did you know that Louvet was to propose the expulsion of the Bourbons from the territory of the Republic?"

"No."

"Did you not dine one day with Ducos and many other deputies, conspirators?"

"I never had any connexion with them."

"Was it in consequence of the connexion that existed between you and the faction, that all your creatures were named to the head of our armies?"

"Certainly not."

"But, for example, you could not be ignorant that Servan was only a minister in *name*, while it was La Clos, your confidential friend, that directed the ministry?"

"I have no knowledge of this fact."

"Did you not say one day to a deputy whom you met, 'What will you ask me when I am king?'"

"I never made this proposal."

"Was it not to Poultier you made it, and did he not answer you—'I will ask you for a pistol, to blow your brains out?'"

"No."

"Were you not sent to Marseilles by the faction, in order to obliterate the traces of the conspiracy of which you were the principal chief?"

"No."

"How has it happened that you, being in the midst of the Federalists, who imprisoned and punished the patriots, have been allowed to escape?"

"I appeared before a tribunal, which, after having given me counsel to defend me, interrogated me, and found me not guilty."

"At what time has your correspondence with England ceased?"

"Since 1790, when I was there to sell a house and effects which I had there."

"Do you know one named Dumont?"

"No."

"Were you not acquainted with the couriers which went and came from Paris to London at that time!"

"No."

"During your residence at London were you not connected with the creatures of Pitt?"

"No; I only saw Pitt because I had letters to deliver to him."

"Have you not had connexion with the English residing in France since 1790?"

"I think not."

"Was not the cause of the journey of your daughter to marry her to some prince of the House of England?"

"No."

"What were the motives of your pretended mission to England?"

"It was because it was known that I was closely connected with the opposition party, and I was desirous to maintain peace with England at that time."

"Were you acquainted with the plans of Dumouriez before his treason had broken out?"

"No."

"How do you think you will make these sworn citizens believe that you were ignorant of the designs of that wretch—he who was your creature—you, whose son commanded under his orders, and who fled with him, partaking of his treason towards the French people—you, who placed your daughter near him, and who maintained a correspondence with him?"

"I never received but two or three letters from him, and these were upon very indifferent matters."

"Why did you, in the Republic, suffer yourself to be called prince?"

"I have done all in my power to prevent it; I have even fixed it on the door of my chamber, observing that those who would treat me as such should be condemned to pay a fine in favour of the poor."

"What were your views in the great largesses which you made during the Revolution?"

"I have not made great largesses; I felt happy at being able to relieve my indigent fellow-citizens, in the midst of a rigorous winter, by selling a small portion of my estates."

The only evidence against the Duke of Orleans was the act of accusation, and the interrogatory we have just extracted. Voidel, his advocate, pressed very strongly the utter inconclusiveness of such evidence; but the jury, notwithstanding, returned a verdict of "guilty." The Duke then, with unmoved countenance and in a firm voice, addressed the judges and the jury:—"Since you were predetermined to put me to death, you ought, at least, to have sought for more plausible pretexts to attain that end; for you will never persuade the world that you have believed me guilty of what you now declare me to be convicted: and you, least of all—you, who know me so well," said he, looking to Antonelle, the foreman of the jury. "However, since my lot is decided, I demand that you will not let me languish here till to-morrow, but order that I should be led to death instantly."

Fouquier Tinville, the public accuser declared that

attention should be paid to this request; he gave directions for the removal back to prison of the persons condemned, and also for the immediate preparation of the scaffold.

When the Duke was brought back to prison, he breakfasted as calmly as if nothing unusual had happened. A delegate from the tribunal having come to ask him if he had no revelations or confessions to make, he replied with dignity, that he had no explanations to offer to his judges; but that, nevertheless, he was ready to answer any questions which might be asked him in the name of the Republic. "I have no animosity," he said, "against the tribunal, none against the Convention, none against the true patriots. I do not attribute my death to them; it comes from higher and more distant quarters." After the departure of the Commissioners, the Duke of Orleans entered into conversation with the Abbé Lothringer, who happened to be confined in the same cell. To him he made his confession, previous to receiving the last rites of the church, displaying great resignation and devotion. At half-past three he was summoned to take his place in the fatal tumbril, in which the condemned were carted to the scaffold. At this moment he displayed the same firmness which he had exhibited during his trial. "I was then a prisoner myself," says Beaulieu, a Royalist writer. "I saw him cross the passages and courts of the prison: he was escorted by half a dozen gendarmes with drawn sabres; and I am bound to say that, from his proud and steady march, and his truly noble air, he might

have been taken for a general commanding his troops, rather than a victim led to execution."

The procession, in its way from the prison to the Place-de-la-Révolution, where the guillotine was erected, passed in front of the Palais Royal, and when nearly opposite, it was stopped by a crowd of carts, which the escort found considerable difficulty in removing. It was observed that the Duke was much moved when he saw the words, "National Property" inscribed in large letters upon the superb mansion of the Orleans family. His confessor, who had been permitted to accompany him, whispered some words of religious consolation, which received no reply. It was not until they came in sight of the scaffold that the Prince resumed his courage; he lifted his head and looked round upon the assembled multitude with an air of contemptuous serenity. When they reached the foot of the scaffold, he embraced his confessor, sprang lightly from the tumbril, and delivered himself to the executioner. Whilst some of the assistants were fastening him to the plank, others attempted to draw off his boots as their perquisite. "It is useless," he said very coolly, "you will draw them off easier presently. Make haste; make haste!" Almost at the same moment he ceased to exist. His body was interred without any ceremony in the cemetery of the Madeleine.

Barrère, in his Memoirs, attributes the death of the Duke of Orleans to the intrigues of the emigrant faction at Coblentz, and to the artifices of the Count d'Artois, afterwards Louis XVIII. There is not a

shadow of evidence or probability to support either supposition. The Duke of Orleans was sacrificed to the jealousy of the Jacobins and the ultra-Republicans, who believed that so long as he lived a return to constitutional monarchy would be possible. The Jacobins hated the Constitutionalists more than the Royalists, because they believed them the more formidable party, and they lived in constant dread of seeing them take the lead in a reaction against the Republic.

We have endeavoured to give an impartial view of the life of an unhappy Prince, whose memory has been assailed with equal violence and equal injustice by the partisans of Republicanism and of Royalty. Both have endeavoured to render him responsible for the worst crimes and follies of the French Revolution, and both have only advanced vague conjectures and sweeping generalities as evidence in support of their charges. There is not a particle of proof that Louis-Philippe Joseph ever sought the Kingdom or the Regency for himself; on the contrary, his objections to accepting a Regency were more than once placed on record. There are, however, some reasons for suspecting that he looked forward to the elevation of his eldest son, the late King of the French, as a probable result of the contingencies of the Revolution; but no documents remain which would serve to illustrate either the nature of his speculations or the chances to which he trusted for their realization.

The only part of his conduct which is utterly indefensible, is his vote for the death of his unfortunate

cousin, Louis XVI. We doubt whether the moral cowardice to which it has been attributed by some of his advocates affords a sufficient explanation; for he could have withheld his vote with impunity if he had thought proper. It is more likely that he was enraged by the menaces and threats of the princes and emigrants at Coblentz, who openly declared that the Duke of Orleans should be the first victim of a counter-revolution, and that he regarded the unquestionable fact of the King's correspondence with the emigrants and the allied powers as not only treason against the State, but as a participation in a plot formed against his own life. This, however, is no justification,—indeed, it hardly amounts to a palliation of his conduct; but such as it is, we believe it the only plea that can be offered, and we have reason to know that such was the opinion of his Duchess and his children.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

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